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On the International Activity of the CPSU Central Committee after the 24th Congress of the CPSU

Resolution of the Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee, Adopted on November 23, 1971

After hearing and discussing the report "On the International Activity of the CPSU Central Committee after the 24th CPSU Congress" delivered by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the plenary meeting unanimously endorses and fully approves the work done by the Politbureau of the Central Committee in carrying out the foreign policy programme put forward by the congress.

The Leninist foreign policy consistently pursued by the Party and Soviet Government, invariably combines a firm rebuff to imperialism and support for the revolutionary, liberation movement with a consistent course for the peaceful coexistence of states with differing social systems. This policy has earned the Soviet Union high regard in world affairs, enhanced the international positions of socialism and all progressive forces, and has done much to change the international situation in favour of peace and the security of nations.

The world socialist community, its unity and consistent peace policy is a highly important factor influencing international politics.

The plenary meeting fully approves the constructive stand taken by the Politbureau of the Central Committee and its practical steps for facilitating the liquidation of the dangerous seats of imperialist aggression in Indochina and in the Middle East, the peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Indian subcontinent, for strengthening peace and security in Asia–that very large area of the globe. The treaties concluded by the USSR with Egypt and with India are of great importance for strengthening peace and international security.

The plenary meeting approves the practical activities in implementing the principles of peaceful coexistence with states having a different social system.

The plenary meeting highly appraises the activity of the Central Committee Politbureau directed toward securing a détente in Europe–which is one of the central problems in present-day international affairs–and toward the further implementation of the principles of

peaceful coexistence and mutually profitable cooperation among European states.

The development of Soviet-French relations in the past period to a new, higher level in all spheres, and above all in the political field, contributes tangibly to solving this problem.

The new steps taken during this period, to obtain the speediest ratification of the treaties signed by the USSR and by Poland with the FRG, the normalisation of relations among all states of the continent based on recognition of the inviolability of the borders which took shape as a result of the Second World War, including the border between the GDR and the FRG, and on the principles of equality, independence and non-interference in internal affairs, repudiation of the use of force in settling international problems, were of great importance for creating in Europe the kind of atmosphere which would completely remove the danger of a war originating on this continent.

The plenary meeting of the Central Committee considers it important that the proposal on convening in the near future a conference on problems of security and cooperation in Europe, put forward by the socialist countries, is meeting with ever greater support. The convocation of an all-European conference with the participation of the USA and Canada, which is now favoured by the governments of France, the FRG, Finland, Canada and other countries, would play a major role in securing a durable peace on the European continent.

The plenary meeting states that in the period after the congress our Party, in conjunction with the fraternal parties, has done much to further cement the socialist community, to develop and intensify comprehensive and equal cooperation among the constituent countries, to promote socialist economic integration, and to coordinate the actions of the fraternal states on a world scale. Experience has again confirmed that the community of the socialist countries continues to be the main force confronting world capitalism, and is a mighty bulwark of the liberation movements of our time. The CPSU regards the all-round strengthening of the positions of world socialism, the further consolidation of the socialist states and the continuous development of friendship and cooperation with them to be some of the prime tasks of its international policy and its internationalist duty.

The plenary meeting stresses the importance for implementing the 24th Congress foreign policy programme, of the visits of Comrade L. I. Brezhnev to France, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Bulgaria and the German Democratic Republic, his meeting with the FRG Chancellor in the Crimea, the visits of Comrade N. V. Podgorny to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Arab Republic of Egypt, of Comrade A. N. Kosygin to Algeria, Canada and the Republic of Cuba, the visits, meetings and other forms of contacts by members of the Politbureau, alternate members of the Politbureau, secretaries

of the Central Committee, delegations of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Soviet Government delegations with statesmen and members of Parliament, leaders and other representatives of parties and public organisations of foreign countries.

The plenary meeting stresses that the Politbureau consistently implements the 24th Congress line in the relations with the People's Republic of China and fully concurs with the stand taken by the Politbureau pertaining to the solution of practical problems in this regard.

The plenary meeting authorises the Central Committee Politbureau to continue to be consistently guided by the 24th Congress foreign policy programme. Fulfilment of this programme will better the external conditions for communist construction in the USSR and for socialist construction in other socialist countries, and create the prerequisites for a durable peace the world over.

The plenary meeting completely supports the proposals made in the Politbureau report with respect to further concrete tasks in the field of international politics.

The plenary meeting notes with satisfaction that the fraternal communist parties and broad circles of the democratic public welcome and support the international activity of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, stress its great importance in the struggle for peace and progress, for cooperation among nations and for the liquidation of seats of imperialist aggression.

The plenary meeting notes the major work done by the party organs and state institutions in fulfilling the assignments connected with the international policy of the CPSU, and considers that the volume and the nature of the forthcoming tasks in this field demand a constant improvement in all their activities.

The plenary meeting stresses that the role of the ideological struggle in the international arena keeps mounting in the course of the Party's continued struggle to implement the 24th Congress foreign policy programme. The plenary meeting draws the attention of the foreign policy, ideological and propaganda organs to the need for raising the standards and effectiveness of their activity, and of vigorously upholding the interests of our country, the interests of socialism and of the entire communist movement in the struggle against imperialist propaganda and the enemies of Marxism-Leninism.

The plenary meeting deems it necessary to continue, as before, to wage a resolute struggle against bourgeois ideology and to foster in the Soviet people the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The entire international activity of the Party is based on the steady growth of the economic, political and defence potential of the Soviet Union. The successful fulfilment of the ninth five-year plan in all regards is of paramount importance for the further strengthening of the international positions and prestige of the USSR,

for coping with the tasks which face our country in the international arena, and for achieving new successes in economic competition with capitalism.

The plenary meeting notes with satisfaction that the foreign policy course of the CPSU Central Committee meets with the complete understanding and unanimous support of all Communists, of the entire Soviet people. This constitutes the main strength of the entire international policy of the CPSU.

Pravda, November 24, 1971

Speech by L. I. Brezhnev at the 6th Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party in Warsaw on December 7, 1971

Dear delegates to the congress!

Dear comrades, friends and brothers!

The delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union highly appreciates the opportunity of being present these days among our Polish friends, and of feeling the festive and, at the same time, businesslike atmosphere of the congress of the Polish United Workers' Party. Participation in the work of fraternal party congresses always furnishes fresh experiences, because a party congress is, as it were, the concentrated expression of the life and struggle of the Communists of the given country.

Allow me, comrades, on behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, on behalf of the 14,500,000 Soviet Communists and of all the working people of the Land of Soviets, to convey to your congress, to all the Communists and the people of Poland, cordial and friendly greetings and best wishes for success in your great and responsible work.

These wishes express the profound and sincere feelings which Soviet people entertain for fraternal Poland. And that is not only because our countries are close neighbours, not only because of the kinship of their language and culture. Our friendship was literally forged by the great suffering of the working people of both countries. They preserved, defended and developed this friendship in difficult historical conditions, when the exploiting classes and rulers, by pursuing their selfish policy, did everything possible to sow discord and strife.

Our friendship was steeled in the flames of the liberation battles waged by the finest sons of both nations against the oppressors, for national and social freedom. The similarity of their goals was very aptly expressed more than 100 years ago by Alexander Ivanovich Herzen, outstanding Russian writer and revolutionary. At the time

of the Polish uprising against tsarist oppression, he wrote: "We are with Poland, because we are for Russia. . . . We want independence for Poland, because we want freedom for Russia."

The class solidarity of the working people of Poland and Russia was elevated to a new stage as a result of the revolutionary struggle waged by the Communists, and of the activities of the great Lenin and his comrades-in-arms, among whom Felix Dzerzhinsky, the legendary knight of the Revolution, occupied an outstanding place.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Polish United Workers' Party have performed a historic service by strengthening Soviet-Polish friendship, investing it with new meaning and pooling the efforts of the peoples of Poland and the USSR in the struggle for the triumph of socialism and communism. It may be said that the Communists of both countries, by their zeal and revolutionary convictions have developed our friendship to a new high. It is not surprising then that we all hold Soviet-Polish friendship so close and dear!

Comrades! The workers, peasants and all working people in the countries of socialism have placed great trust in the Communists, assigning to them the political leadership of society. This trust imposes a tremendous responsibility upon our Parties.

We Communists are responsible for the destinies of our countries, for a correct policy of socialist development, for the living conditions of our peoples, for the socialist education of people, especially the youth, and for the security of our homelands. It is up to the ruling communist parties to determine in good time the objective requirements of society at a given stage, to find the best solution to urgent problems, to discover ways of overcoming difficulties that appear, and to find ways and means of attaining the most rapid progress.

These tasks are naturally not simple, just as the very objective of constructing a fundamentally new society is far from being simple. They can be solved only on the basis of the great Marxist-Leninist teaching, according to the time-tested laws of socialism, by the creative application and development of revolutionary theory in the conditions prevailing in one's own country, based on the support of the working people as a whole, and by proceeding side by side with the fraternal countries of socialism.

The experience of history shows that individual omissions and errors, sometimes even grave ones, are not ruled out in the great work of socialist construction. What is important, however, is that they do not stem from the nature of socialism as a social system, nor its goals and basic principles; on the contrary, they arise in cases where there is a deviation from these principles, some violation of them. Therefore, the ability to critically evaluate one's activities and to draw the necessary practical conclusions is also one of the important forms of the struggle waged by the Communists for socialism, for communism. It is the Leninist way of doing things.

When reading the Report of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, and listening to the policy-making speech of the First Secretary of the Central Committee, one realises with special clarity the long, complex and glorious road traversed by your Party. Allow me to tell you, dear comrades, that the Soviet Communists realise the full significance of the impressive achievements of the Communists and all the working people of Poland in the development of socialist social relations, and a socialist economy and culture.

We respect the principled and courageous approach of the PUWP to rectify negative developments that have taken place. We clearly see the great and sincere concern, displayed by your Party and its Central Committee headed by that true son of the Polish working class, our friend and comrade Edward Gierek, for the interests of the working people and for the constant strengthening of ties with the working masses.

Dear friends, it has already been said here at the congress that the Party is still faced with quite a number of complex problems in the economy, in ideology, in the countryside and in the cities. But we firmly believe that by steadfastly adhering to Leninism and by pursuing a clear, consistently revolutionary and realistic policy expressing the vital interests of the working people, your Party will successfully cope with its tasks, and will honourably discharge its responsibilities to the Polish people.

The Party of Polish Communists is a truly internationalist party, a large militant detachment of the international communist movement. The CPSU delegation would like, from this high rostrum, and with a special feeling of gratitude, to stress the significance of the vigorous activities of the Polish United Workers' Party for consolidating the socialist community and developing all-round cooperation among the socialist states. That is our common concern, comrades, the concern of all fraternal countries and parties.

The questions of further rallying the world system of socialism and unity of action by the socialist countries were in the centre of attention of the 24th CPSU Congress. They were discussed in detail at the recent congresses of the Hungarian, Bulgarian, Czechoslovak, German and Mongolian Communists. We see that the same problems are being raised at your congress, too. And that is natural. This shows that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Polish United Workers' Party and the other fraternal parties react quickly to the demands of the times and work actively to consolidate and further advance the main and leading line of development of world socialism—the trend toward unity and cohesion.

This is manifested in everything—in the coordination of policy on the world scene, in the vigorous headway made in economic integration, and in the coordination of our efforts in the ideological field. This is vividly manifested also in the broad, mass contacts between the Communists and the working people of the fraternal

countries, in the constant exchange of information and in the study of each other's experience and practice.

The lively and direct contacts among tens and hundreds of thousands of people, the builders of socialism and communism, has become a customary matter. There is, however, a profound historic meaning concealed in this seemingly commonplace: it is in this way that the foundations for the future brotherhood of nations are being laid. We can say with a feeling of great satisfaction that by strengthening Soviet-Polish friendship, and by promoting further consolidation of cooperation among socialist countries, the Communists of Poland and the Soviet Union are making a considerable contribution to this great cause.

Acting in close alliance, the socialist countries are exerting an active and ever growing influence upon the course of world events. Engrossed in our everyday work, we sometimes fail to realize how effective and extensive this influence has become. It is great not merely because we are strong: there are also other important matters which compel people, willingly or not, to heed our voice. One of them is the principled nature and consistency of the socialist community's foreign policy which is close and understandable to the people on all continents.

We need peace to build socialism and communism. All the peoples need peace. They do not want a repetition of the tragedy of the world war which cost them countless suffering and sacrifices. People do not want to perish, do not want cities to be reduced to ruins, do not want villages to go up in flames. That is why the policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union and Poland, and by all the fraternal countries of socialism, is a policy truly in the people's interest. We are for peace, so that coming generations may never know the horrors of war. We put our international prestige and all our strength at the service of this noble aim.

We have millions upon millions of allies in all countries in the struggle for peace. But we have no right to forget that forces deeply hostile to the cause of peace exist. Therefore, the active peace-loving policy of our countries includes a resolute rebuff to the actions of aggressive imperialist circles. We are convinced that the Polish people, like the peoples of our country, understand very well that the socialist countries cannot pursue any other course.

The defensive alliance of the socialist countries was created here in Warsaw 16 years ago. We took this step with the sole aim of preventing a new war from flaring up. This measure was taken in reply to the aggressive preparations of NATO, and to attempts to dictate to us in the language of force. All these years the Warsaw Treaty Organisation has reliably served the peaceful interests of the fraternal countries, helping to turn the course of events into a direction more favourable for the peoples. The combat fraternity of the Soviet Army, the Polish Army and the armed forces of the other Warsaw Treaty member-states remains to this day one of the

main factors curbing the aggressors, a factor contributing to the preservation of peace.

The Communists of Poland, the USSR and other fraternal countries always remain true to their internationalist duty, whatever the difficulties. The mighty force of socialist internationalism manifests itself especially clearly during acute international crises, and there have been quite a number of them in recent years.

Fulfilling our internationalist duty, we are rendering extensive and effective support to the courageous patriots of Vietnam in their struggle for freedom and independence, and against imperialist aggression. The Vietnamese people can always rely on the assistance of their friends in all fields of this struggle–military, political and diplomatic. Carrying out their internationalist duty, the socialist countries are doing everything in their power to frustrate the plans of the Israeli aggressors and their patrons, to help the Arab peoples to defend their lawful rights and to contribute to the establishment of a just peace in the Middle East.

No matter how hard bourgeois propaganda tries, and no matter who attempts to slander our policies, the peoples of the world see with growing clarity and understanding that the militant solidarity of the socialist countries and their firm and implacable position in respect to imperialist aggression and all forms of international plunder constitute one of the main bulwarks of the peace, security and freedom of the peoples in our time.

Just like all champions of peace and the freedom of the peoples, we were grieved to learn of the military conflict which flared up a few days ago between two neighbouring states in Asia, and by the events which sparked off this conflict–the bloody suppression of the basic rights and the clearly expressed will of the population of East Pakistan, and the tragedy of 10,000,000 refugees. The Soviet Union is resolutely in favour of ending the bloodshed, and stands for a peaceful political settlement of the problems that have arisen there, taking into account the legitimate rights of the peoples, and without any interference by external forces, and for the creation of the conditions for a lasting and just peace in this area.

Comrades! There have been no military conflicts in Europe for more than a quarter of a century. This in itself is a great achievement of the peace-loving states and a major gain of the peoples of Europe. It has not been a stable peace, however. The cold war created tension in Europe. There were moments when the borderline between political struggle and a military clash became fragile and unstable. The security of the peoples demanded an end to the cold war, and the elimination of its consequences. The socialist part of Europe made an all-out effort to achieve that.

We never believed, nor do we now, that a détente, cooperation and security in Europe can make headway without the concerted efforts of both sides–the East and the West. The more realistic the Western countries are in their policies, the greater will be our joint

possibilities for improving the situation in Europe, and paving the way to fundamental agreements in the interests of European and international security. The development of relations between the USSR, Poland and a number of other socialist countries with France is an example of this. Another example is the development of our relations with the FRG. The recent agreement on West Berlin is still another example of this.

The treaties signed by the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic with the FRG; the four-power agreement on West Berlin; the drafting of the German Democratic Republic's agreements on related questions with the FRG and the West Berlin Senate; the growing recognition of the need for the GDR and the FRG to join the United Nations and a settlement of the problems existing between Czechoslovakia and the FRG, a settlement which we hope two sides will reach—all this brings us to the conclusion of the post-war period of European development. A beginning is now being made for Europe's transition to a new historical phase which, we believe, will develop in keeping with the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial cooperation. An all-European conference on questions of security and cooperation acquires special significance at this turning point.

This conference is called upon to consolidate the foundations of peaceful life on our continent. In our opinion these foundations are: undeviating observance of the principles of the inviolability of the present borders, non-interference in internal affairs, equality, independence, and renunciation of the use or the threat of force. Quite recently the Soviet Union and France signed a document expressing this kind of approach to European affairs. We hold that the states and peoples of Europe would only stand to gain if such principles became the generally recognised standard of international life throughout Europe. Should serious thought not be given to such a possibility?

Incidentally, a regular session of the Council of the North Atlantic bloc is to open in a few days' time in Brussels. The decisions taken by that session will show whether the NATO countries are really prepared to make their practical actions accord with the will of all the European nations for peace and whether they are prepared to respond to our call to switch over to lessening international tensions and to strengthening mutual trust and European security. If they are willing to do so then the best way to prove it would be in conjunction with other European states to start practical preparations for an all-European conference which, we believe, could very well be convened in 1972.

The positive changes taking place on the European continent do not create any illusions among us Communists. We know very well that reactionary, militarist and revenge-seeking circles still continue to be active in capitalist Europe. They would like, by any means, to occupy decisive positions in their countries, and are trying to

roll Europe back to the times of the cold war. All this makes it obligatory for us to exercise a high degree of vigilance and political activity. It demands the consistent carrying through of constructive undertakings and the moves which hold out the promise of turning Europe into a continent of peace and goodneighbourly relations.

This, comrades, is a matter of tremendous historic importance. It goes far beyond the framework of Europe proper in its influence on other regions, and on the world situation as a whole. There is not the slightest doubt that radical improvement of the political climate in Europe and settlement of urgent all-European problems, including the reduction of armed forces and armaments, would be in the interests of the whole of mankind.

The fraternal communist parties pay tribute to the efforts of the Polish United Workers' Party which, throughout the entire post war period, has steadily and actively struggled for the consolidation of European and international security, for the elimination of the centres of war danger, for disarmament and for the development of peaceful cooperation among the peoples. Revived Poland, socialist Poland, has taken a worthy place in world politics.

The times are long gone when the Polish people had constantly to fear for their freedom and independence and for the integrity of their state. Today the inviolability of Polish borders is ensured by Poland's alliance with the USSR, the German Democratic Republic and other fraternal countries, and by the entire defence might of the Warsaw Treaty member-states. Today, when the Polish people have irrevocably taken the road of socialism and joined the united family of socialist countries, the freedom and the independence of Poland are guaranteed finally and completely.

Dear Polish friends! The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all Soviet people are now implementing the resolutions adopted by the 24th Congress of our Party. A few days ago we endorsed the current five-year plan. Its main task is to secure a considerable rise in material and cultural standards based on high rates of development of socialist production, its increased efficiency, scientific and engineering progress, and the accelerated growth of labour productivity. Our economic development plan is orientated also towards continuing to expand economic cooperation between the USSR and Poland and with all fraternal countries.

The successful fulfilment of the five-year plan calls for much work, good organisation and discipline. The working people of our country realise that very well. They ardently and fully support the course taken by their Leninist Party. We are convinced that we shall cope with the tasks set, and shall forge ahead on the road of communist construction.

Dear comrades! The delegation of the CPSU is fully convinced that the 6th PUWP Congress will become an important milestone in Poland's socialist development and will contribute to the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. We wish you great successes in

the construction of socialist society, in developing your industry, in raising the people's standard of living and in fulfilling your plans for socio-economic development. We wish the entire Polish people happiness and prosperity.

We are convinced that Poland's working class, farmers and intelligentsia, led by their Marxist-Leninist vanguard, will attain the complete triumph of socialism in all fields!

Long live the Polish United Workers' Party, the inspirer and organiser of the construction of socialist society in your country!

May the fraternal friendship of the Communists of our countries and the firm alliance of the peoples of Poland and the USSR grow stronger and prosper!

Long live peace throughout the world!

Long live communism!

Pravda, December 8, 1971

Friendly Meeting of Soviet and Polish Party and State Leaders

A comradely exchange of views between the Party and state leaders of the Soviet Union and the Polish People's Republic took place at the CPSU Central Committee office on November 10, 1971. Taking part on the Soviet side were: L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A. N. Kosygin, Member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; K. F. Katushev, CC CPSU Secretary; N. K. Baibakov, CC CPSU Member and Vice Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and K. V. Rusakov, CC CPSU Member and Department Chief; on the Polish side: E. Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party; P. Jaroszewicz, Politbureau Member of the CC PUWP and Chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers; J. Szydlak, Politbureau Member and Secretary of the CC PUWP; M. Jagielski, CC PUWP Politbureau Alternate Member and Vice-Chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers; and Z. Nowak, CC PUWP Member and Polish Ambassador to the USSR.

The participants in the meeting noted with great satisfaction the successful development of all-round relations between the fraternal parties and peoples of the USSR and the Polish People's Republic. They expressed mutual readiness to further promote Soviet-Polish cooperation in every sphere of state, social, scientific and cultural life.

Special attention was devoted to the development of economic, scientific and engineering cooperation, which will be facilitated by

coordination of the national economic plans of both countries, the long-term trade agreement and other economic agreements between the USSR and PPR. Both sides agreed to instruct their planning and economic agencies to continue their efforts to promote economic cooperation, and particularly to expand specialisation and cooperation in the manufacture of highly productive machines and equipment, and consumer goods.

The Party and state leaders of both countries reaffirmed their intention to consistently carry out the Comprehensive Programme for Socialist Economic Integration of the CMEA member-countries. In their opinion, this programme, when realised, will greatly contribute to socialist and communist construction, to a steady growth in living standards, and greater unity of the fraternal socialist countries.

Views were also exchanged on urgent international issues. Noting the favourable changes on the European continent, the two sides arrived at the conclusion that it was necessary to continue to concentrate on furthering the cause of a détente, security and durable peace in Europe. The importance of speedily ratifying the treaties signed by the USSR and the PPR with the FRG for further improving the situation on the European continent was emphasised. The two sides favoured more active preparations for an all-European conference which could decisively contribute to turning Europe into a continent of peace and mutually beneficial goodneighbourly cooperation.

The two sides expressed determination to continue to do everything to further consolidate the socialist countries, to work for united action of the world socialist system, the communist and working-class movement, and of all anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

The meeting of Soviet and Polish Party and state leaders, which was held in a cordial, fraternal and friendly atmosphere, showed a consensus of opinion.

Pravda, November 11, 1971

Friendly Meeting of Party and State Leaders of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria

A friendly meeting of Party and state leaders of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria took place on November 30, 1971.

The Soviet side was represented by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; N. V. Podgorny, Member

of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet; and A. N. Kosygin, Member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The Bulgarian side was represented by T. Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and S. Todorov, Member of the Politbureau of the BCP Central Committee and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

The participants in the meeting informed each other about the fulfilment of the decisions of the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the 10th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

It was noted with satisfaction that development of all-round cooperation between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bulgaria is continuing successfully. The ties along Party and state lines are becoming increasingly active and effective, and the bonds of fraternity and friendship between the Soviet and Bulgarian peoples are growing ever stronger.

The sides paid special attention to the need for further intensifying the economic, scientific and technical ties between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria. The Comprehensive Programme for Socialist Economic Integration of the CMEA countries, the coordination of the economic development plans of both countries, and the economic agreements between the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria—all provide a sound foundation for achieving this.

The Soviet and Bulgarian leaders agreed to instruct their respective planning and economic bodies to continue their efforts with regard to economic cooperation, and, on the basis of a socialist division of labour, to expand the coordination and specialisation of production facilitating the establishment of strong, mutually advantageous ties and bringing closer together the economies of the two states.

The consensus of opinion was that intensification and improvement of Soviet-Bulgarian cooperation will do much to raise the living standards of the working people, attain a further economic upsurge in both countries, and will serve the interests of the entire socialist community.

The participants in the meeting also considered topical international issues. They stressed that implementation of the foreign policy programme advanced by the 24th CPSU Congress and supported by the fraternal communist and workers' parties, helps to strengthen the international positions of socialism and of all anti-imperialist forces. It does much to effect a change in the international situation in favour of peace and security of the peoples.

The sides acknowledged with satisfaction the positive changes towards solving the problem of European security and expressed the desire to continue efforts to strengthen peace in Europe. They

noted they were in favour of stepping up preparations for an all-European conference on security and cooperation. During their discussions the sides declared their willingness to contribute actively to eradicating the dangerous centres of imperialist aggression in Indochina and in the Middle East, and to help bring about a peaceful settlement of the conflict in the Indian subcontinent.

The participants in the meeting expressed their firm resolve to consolidate in every way the unity of the socialist states, to develop friendship and cooperation among them, and to work for cohesion of the ranks of the international communist and working-class movement, and of all the anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for democracy and socialism.

The meeting of the Soviet and Bulgarian Party and state leaders confirmed complete mutual understanding on all issues, and proceeded in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and sincerity.

K. F. Katushev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and K. V. Rusakov, Member of the CPSU Central Committee and department head of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the meeting.

Pravda, December 1, 1971

SOVIET
PRESS
COMMENT

The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of India

A. MASLENNIKOV, U. MATYASH, U. SHURYGIN

The Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of India, which opened on October 3, was addressed by S. G. Sardesai, Secretary of the National Council. His report "On the International Situation, the World Communist Movement and the Tasks of the CPI," noted that the developments following the Eighth CPI Congress, held in February 1968, have brought out in contrast the deepening of the crisis of imperialism, and most of all US imperialism, along with the further consolidation of the forces for peace, democracy and socialism.

The past period, the report goes on to say, has witnessed new serious setbacks for American imperialism economically, socially and politically.

The successful struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people, who have the support and assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, has brought the American aggressor to the brink of defeat. The new peace proposals, advanced by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, have led to further isolation of the imperialist aggressors, both politically and morally.

In the Middle East, the Israeli aggressor, armed and aided by US imperialists, has become even more exposed and isolated. The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation recently signed between the Soviet Union and Egypt has greatly frustrated American-Israeli schemes. In the past years fresh successes have been scored by a number of Arab and African countries by way of progressive cultural and economic transformations. Nevertheless there are many problems that must be solved, such as relationships between revolutionary-democratic governments and the Communists, and differences among the revolutionary democrats themselves.

The anti-imperialist forces in Latin America have attained signal successes: Cuba is proceeding with socialist construction, creating

the economic basis for a socialist society. The Popular Unity bloc in Chile, based on the unity of the communist and the socialist parties, has made marked headway. Anti-imperialist forces in the other Latin American countries are likewise growing and strengthening.

The national liberation struggle in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau) has been marked by new victories; the armed struggle against colonialism and the racialists in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa is being stepped up.

The speaker severely criticised Pakistan's Government policy and expressed the Indian Communists' support for democratic liberation struggle.

The report stressed that the peoples' successful fight against imperialism, colonialism and aggression hinges on the growing influence and prestige of the world socialist system, the USSR above all.

As denoted in the 24th CPSU Congress decisions, S. G. Sardesai said, the Soviet Union has embarked on a new stage in building the material and technical basis of communism, to further enhance the economic and defence power of the world's first socialist state, raise the Soviet people's living standards and ensure the security of nations. "The Soviet Union," the report emphasises, "is the most powerful protector of world peace and the bulwark of anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle."

The economic, social and political development of other socialist states, S. G. Sardesai further said, has also been very successful. The Marxist-Leninist parties in socialist countries are working for greater cohesion and consolidation of the world socialist system and perfecting the forms of economic and political cooperation. The course of world events confirms that the world socialist system, led by the Soviet Union, represents the bastion for the peoples' anti-imperialist struggle, and is coming to play a more decisive part in shaping human history.

Confronted with the advance of the revolutionary forces, present-day imperialism is compelled to manoeuvre, and to devise new, even craftier methods in order to hold its ground. A special role is played by anti-Sovietism and anti-communism and by the divisive policies of the Chinese Mao leadership with regard to the world communist movement. The rapprochement between the Maoist leadership and the Nixon Administration, the speaker noted, should be viewed precisely in this light.

While steadfastly advocating unity of all peace and anti-imperialist forces, the Soviet Union develops friendly ties with many independent states.

The speaker commended the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation signed between the USSR and the Republic of India. The historic Indo-Soviet treaty, based on the principles of peace, friendship and cooperation, the report emphasises, is an important landmark in the development of relations between the two countries. It is a powerful factor for peace in Asia and an instru-

ment of averting war in the Indian subcontinent. The Indian Soviet treaty shows that greater friendship with the Soviet Union in waging a common anti imperialist struggle is in India's national interests.

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties, held in Moscow in 1969, was an outstanding event which promoted international communist unity, the report notes. Since 1969 the international communist movement has been more united, has achieved more victories in confrontation with world imperialism and developed contacts with other detachments of the world anti imperialist front.

Of late, the report continues, right and "left" revisionists have stepped up their attempts to split the ideological and political unity of the international communist movement. The present leadership in the Communist Party of China, the report points out, have openly broken away from Marxism Leninism. Having espoused opportunism as their political course, the Maoist leaders are not averse to employing "left" phraseology in seeking to make direct contact with representatives of the ultra aggressive circles of US monopoly capital, with West German revenge mongers, Japanese militarists, and racists. The CPC leadership's so called theory of superpowers in practical terms amounts to struggle against the Soviet Union alone, with a view to sapping the unity of the socialist camp by preaching anti Sovietism and bourgeois nationalism. The Maoist policy objectively encourages imperialists in their struggle against the forces of peace, democracy and socialism. In its anti Soviet drive Maoism joins hands with right revisionism which rejects the class struggle, the leading role of the working class and the communist movement, and belittles the Soviet Union's role. Anti Sovietism is the most characteristic feature of right revisionism.

Right and left revisionism must be combated more energetically, the report underlines, in order to further international communist unity, strengthen the influence of the communist movement and enhance its effectiveness.

To strengthen and consolidate the international communist movement the Communist Party of India works for broader contacts among fraternal parties, for more active ideological, political and organisational struggle against right and "left" revisionism and for analysing revolutionary experience on the basis of Marxism Leninism.

In the period under review, the report notes, the CPI, in conformity with the Party Programme and the basic provisions of the Moscow Meeting (1969), has contributed to the intensive development of anti-imperialist struggle in India, to the drive for universal peace and for Afro-Asian solidarity, to the promotion of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The report outlines a programme of activity in this regard to guide Indian Communists in the forthcoming period.

Addressing the meeting Comrade S. A. Dange, Chairman of the CPI National Council, was gratified to note that the Indian Govern-

ment had found it expedient and useful to sign the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The present generation, Comrade Dange went on to say, knows much about the Soviet Union. It may not be common knowledge that the Lenin-created world's first socialist state rendered immense support and assistance to the Indian national liberation movement, but everybody knows in India that the biggest, most vitally important industrial projects in India were built with Soviet assistance.

On October 4 the congress delegates heard the report on the political situation in the country, which was presented by B. Gupta, CPI National Council Secretary. The report pointed out that the political situation in the country had radically changed in the past three years. Since the Eighth Party Congress the struggle between the democratic and the right reactionary forces has intensified.

The growing radical sentiments among the Indian people have led to a differentiation of forces in the camp of the national bourgeoisie and a split in the Indian National Congress Party. This is being furthered by greater imperialist pressure on India which is being actively resisted not only by the working people but also by the non-monopoly Indian bourgeoisie.

All this has brought about a different correlation of political forces in the country. Whereas during the last Party congress the reactionary forces were on the offensive and in a position to seize power, they are now on the defensive. The forces for a progressive, democratic development of India are surging ahead. New conditions obtaining in the country are conducive to joint action by the left and democratic forces for the people's interests, for a switch to the left.

The delegates of the Ninth Congress gave a hearty welcome to their guests—a CPSU delegation led by D. A. Kunayev, CC CPSU Politbureau Member and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan, and representatives of other fraternal communist and workers' parties.

Pravda, October 5, 1971

Comrade D. A. Kunayev's Speech at the Ninth CPI Congress

The people in the Soviet Union highly value the striving of India's democratic forces to strengthen the country's sovereignty and economic independence, the role of your Party in the struggle against imperialism and its neocolonialist aspirations, for the solution of the intricate problems of the development facing India. During the recent parliamentary elections the Communist Party of India, together with the other democratic forces, energetically worked for the defeat of the right-wing reactionaries. The democratic forces

achieved this aim.

At the 24th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, held shortly after the general elections in your country, it was stressed that the results of the elections conclusively demonstrated that the people of India had resolutely come out against the reactionary, pro-imperialist forces and for the implementation of a land reform, for socio-economic changes and a policy of peace and friendship in the international arena. The victory of the democratic parties at the polls opened up new possibilities for solving pressing problems of the country and for its development along the path of social progress.

The Soviet people sincerely wish all the democratic and progressive forces of friendly India success on this course.

D. A. Kunayev then told the congress delegates of the activities of the CPSU and Soviet Union's successes in economic and cultural development.

Today the Soviet Union has entered a new, highly important stage of its advance toward communism. The decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress have armed the Party and the people with a clear prospect of further development in all spheres of the economy, culture and improvement of social relations.

The Soviet Union is consistently pursuing the policy of extending and deepening relations with all countries whose governments are ready for equal and mutually advantageous cooperation.

The CPSU regards as its important internationalist task the utmost development and strengthening of fruitful cooperation with developing countries. The Soviet Union is rendering them political and material support in their struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism, is helping them to develop their national economy, thereby contributing to the consolidation of their positions in confrontation with imperialism.

Friendly Soviet-Indian relations can serve as an example of fruitful cooperation between the USSR and developing countries. The Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation, recently concluded by our countries, is an important landmark in the history of these relations. This treaty has become an important event in international affairs. This peace document embodies the vital interests of the peoples of our countries, and their peace aspirations. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the Soviet-Indian treaty for the successful defence of peace in Asia and the world over, for consolidating international security.

The great fundamental importance of the treaty also consists in that the USSR and India have denounced colonialism and racialism in all forms and manifestations and confirmed their resolve to work for their final and complete abolition, in cooperation with other states. The Soviet-Indian treaty expresses the firm conviction that in the contemporary world international problems can and must be solved politically through peaceful negotiations and cooperation. The

Soviet-Indian treaty is an instrument for the maintenance of peace and security of the Asian peoples.

The documents and resolutions of the leading bodies of the Communist Party of India have repeatedly stressed that the treaty between the Soviet Union and India creates favourable prospects for strengthening the democratic and progressive forces in the country.

Events of recent years confirm with utmost clarity the correctness of the conclusion drawn by the international communist movement that imperialism is constantly fraught with the danger of war.

For years now the United States has been waging a dirty war against the Vietnamese and other peoples of Indochina.

We hold that there is only one way to settle the crisis unleashed by the United States–the immediate cessation of aggression and the unconditional withdrawal from Vietnam of the forces of the United States and its satellites.

International imperialism has created a dangerous hotbed of war in the Middle East. Our Party–and this was reaffirmed by the 24th Congress–fully supports the just struggle of the Arab peoples for eliminating the consequences of Israeli aggression, for a peaceful political settlement of the crisis in the Middle East, ensuring the lawful rights of the Arab people of Palestine, for the development of the Arab countries along the path of social progress.

A treaty of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and Egypt has been recently concluded. This treaty has reinforced Egypt's international positions, frustrated the plans of the aggressors and their patrons aimed at undermining Soviet-Egyptian relations.

The Soviet Union is putting up against imperialism's aggressive policy its active policy of the peace and security of nations. You, comrades, know that the 24th CPSU Congress formulated a concrete programme of struggle for the solution of the most urgent and burning international problems. It is called a "peace plan" the world over. After the congress the Soviet Union displayed a number of important initiatives designed to implement the foreign policy programme of our Party.

The peace programme advanced by the Soviet Union is clear and understandable to every honest person, for it has none of the intricate stratagems employed by imperialist diplomacy for promoting imperialist and neocolonialist policies.

We are convinced that the implementation of the comprehensive programme of struggle for peace and security which we proposed could facilitate the normalisation of the entire international situation and could protect the peoples from the threat of nuclear war, from the colossal burden of the arms race which has been unleashed and is spurred on by the imperialists. This would create prerequisites for establishing an enduring peace the world over, could pave the way for accomplishing the gigantic tasks set before mankind by the scientific and technological revolution.

It is our firm belief that only such a policy can ultimately lead

to the establishment of goodneighbourly, peaceful and mutually advantageous cooperation among all the states, and secure progress in international affairs.

Your congress is attended by delegations of many communist and workers' parties, in recognition of the services of your Party as an international force, and an active, militant detachment of the international communist movement.

The Communist Party of India has to work in intricate conditions. On the one hand right-wing parties and the reactionary religious communal organisations of India are stepping up their anti-communist campaign, concentrating their fire against the forces of social progress, against the Communists as the most consistent champions of the country's democratic development. On the other hand, various leftist extremist groupings, exploiting the unsolved acute economic problems and the attendant dissatisfaction of the masses, seek to swerve them onto the path of adventurism.

The strength of the communist party lies in the fact that, basing itself on the most advanced ideology of our time—Marxism-Leninism—it works out its action programme, defining practical ways of realising its strategic and tactical tasks, with an eye to the concrete situation, the correlation of class forces, and the state of development of the class struggle. By creatively studying and generalising the experience of the working people in their struggle, Marxist-Leninists detect new phenomena in the workers' and national liberation movements, and try to assess them correctly and apply this experience in their activity.

In contrast to the splitting activity of various groups and parties, which have severed ties with the world communist movement, Communists, Marxist-Leninists, reflect most fully and consistently the aspirations and interests of the working masses; they have always drawn their strength from close ties with the people. Your congress attaches paramount importance to this problem, setting before the Party the task of strengthening its mass basis in every possible way.

The founders of Marxism-Leninism attached primary significance to joint struggle of the Communists and all the working people for the policy of social progress, capable of uniting, notwithstanding ideological differences, the broadest sections of the people. They taught us to see behind the immediate aims of the movement, which could be achieved at the present stage, the ultimate goal of struggle.

Already on the eve of the Great October Socialist Revolution Lenin vigorously criticised those who did not understand the importance of unity of the struggle for general democratic demands with the struggle for socialism. Speaking about the exceptional importance of the proletariat's struggle for general democratic demands, Lenin pointed out that denial of such struggle, covered up by left phraseology, was in reality the most flagrant opportunism.

We well understand that your Party is now encountering big difficulties caused by the events in the eastern part of the Indian

subcontinent and the influx of a huge mass of refugees to India. As you know, the Soviet Government, loyal to its policy of peace and the principles of respect for human rights, from the very outset resolutely condemned the repressions by the Pakistani authorities against the peaceful population and called for a political settlement of the problem with due regard to the inalienable rights and legitimate interests of the people of East Pakistan.

It is beyond doubt that all who prize the peace and progress of the peoples will do everything possible to prevent a further aggravation of the situation in the eastern part of the Indian subcontinent and to achieve a settlement of the issue taking into account the legitimate interests and rights of the people that have been subjected to persecutions and repressions.

Soviet Communists appreciate the CPI efforts to create a united front of the national-democratic forces on a broad platform of consistent struggle against imperialism, the monopolies and reactionaries.

On behalf of the CC CPSU Politbureau members, CC CPSU General Secretary L. I. Brezhnev, members of the CPSU delegation and all Soviet Communists, D. A. Kunayev wished the Ninth CPI Congress success in its work for the benefit of the Indian people, in the name of the struggle for democracy and socialism.

D. A. Kunayev then read a message of greeting from the Central Committee of the CPSU to the Ninth CPI Congress, which was warmly applauded by the congress delegates and guests.

As a token of friendship between CPI and CPSU, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, D. A. Kunayev presented a gift from the Central Committee of the CPSU—a portrait of Lenin, the great leader of the world proletariat.

Pravda, October 6, 1971

Extracts from the Speech by V. Grishin at a Commemorating Meeting on the 54th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, November 6, 1971

The October Revolution and the World Revolutionary Process. The Foreign Policy Programme of the 24th Party Congress in Action

Comrades,

The Great October Socialist Revolution has exercised a decisive influence not only on the development of this country but also on

the entire course of world history. As a result of the historic transformations initiated in 1917, socialism has become firmly established on a considerable part of the globe and ensured a radical change in the balance of forces in its favour. The organised working-class movement has been gaining momentum in the capitalist countries.

The colonial empires have been smashed, young and independent states emerging on their ruins. A mighty alliance of the revolutionary forces of our time, an extensive anti-imperialist front, has emerged and it has been constantly gaining in strength in the course of the social battles of the 20th century.

The world socialist system is the greatest historic achievement of the international working class and the entire modern revolutionary movement. The socialist countries are successfully solving the tasks of economic development, of perfecting social relations, of raising the living standards and the cultural level of the working people. The creative application of the general principles of socialism under the concrete historical conditions obtaining in each country ensures steady progress of the new social system, the ever fuller realisation of its vast possibilities and advantages.

The world socialist system is steadily consolidating, and its economic potential is growing. Proletarian internationalism is an inexhaustible source of its strength. Relations between the socialist states are characterised by fraternal mutual assistance, solidarity, genuine equality and respect for each other. We are united by common goals in struggle, by a single Marxist-Leninist ideology. The cornerstone of the internationalist relations between the socialist countries is the close and all-round cooperation between their communist parties.

We note with satisfaction the steady development and improvement of the economic relations between the socialist countries. This enables them to successfully solve the tasks of national economic development, to raise the efficiency of production, its scientific and technological level, to score fresh successes in the economic competition with capitalism. Of fundamental importance is the Comprehensive Programme for the further development of cooperation and economic integration of the CMEA member-countries, adopted by the 25th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and designed to cover a period of 15-20 years. The implementation of this programme will make it possible to place the huge reserves of inter-state specialisation and cooperation in production more fully at the service of socialist and communist construction and to pool the efforts of all the CMEA member-countries toward accelerating scientific and technological progress.

Our Party and the Soviet Government work constantly for the comprehensive development of relations of friendship and cooperation with all the socialist countries, for the cohesion of the socialist camp, and the strengthening of world socialism and its position in the international arena.

Guided by the common interests of the world socialist system and of all the anti-imperialist forces, the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government advocate the normalisation of relations between the USSR and the People's Republic of China. Our initiative in this field has produced definite results; serious progress, however, can be achieved only if there is a mutual desire for cooperation. Unfortunately, the Chinese leadership is continuing its anti-Soviet line and its splitting activities. The stand of our Party, reaffirmed by the 24th Congress, is a stand of principled struggle against the ideological-political platform of the CPC leaders, incompatible as this platform is with Leninism, of resolutely exposing Peking's hostile propaganda, of defending the national interests of the Soviet state. At the same time, we have always proceeded from the fact that the fundamental and lasting interests of the peoples of both countries coincide. Our Party is doing everything in its power toward normalising Soviet Chinese inter-state relations, bearing in mind the prospects for restoring the good-neighbourly and friendly relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

Experience shows that the world socialist system is developing in sharp struggle with the opponents of its unity. This cannot, however, overshadow the fact that the leading, determining line of progress of the socialist system is without doubt the line that is in the ascendancy, the line of unity and solidarity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our Party declared at its 24th Congress that it would continue to do everything in its power to carry forward and develop this line in a consistent way.

The present stage of historical development is characterised by a considerable weakening of the position of capitalism. In spite of the refined attempts of imperialism to adapt to the new situation, the general crisis of capitalism as a system continues to deepen. The capitalist economy is experiencing serious difficulties. In many capitalist countries, including the United States, a decline in production or a sharp reduction in the rates of its growth are to be observed. There is runaway inflation, and the monetary system of imperialism is in a state of continuing crisis. The extraordinary measures taken by the US Government for overcoming its financial crisis have aggravated the inter-imperialist contradictions. These measures were effected in the interests of the magnates of financial capital and hit hard at the vital interests of the working people. Growing unemployment, rocketing prices, a fall in real wages and the onslaught on trade union rights by the monopolies—all this is increasing the socio-political instability of capitalism and creating prerequisites for further sharpening of class battles in capitalist countries.

Serious internal difficulties as well as economic problems are being experienced by capitalism. The ideological crisis, the crisis of bourgeois morality, is growing deeper. The capitalist way of life with its incurable vices is the cause of increasing dissatisfaction among the people. Both the currency and the apology for "ideological ca

pital" with which imperialist propaganda is trying to keep the working people under its influence are being depreciated.

Strikes, which are increasingly being directed against the entire system of state monopoly domination, have assumed tremendous proportions in capitalist countries. The mass action of the working class is being accompanied more often by demands of a political as well as economic character. In the United States, the headquarters of imperialism, we see unprecedented political upheavals connected with mass protests against the war in Vietnam, racial discrimination, lawlessness and poverty. For more than a year and a half the population of Northern Ireland has been waging an armed struggle against the British colonialists. The Republican Administration of the United States and the British Conservative Government are resorting to savage repressions in reply to the legitimate demands of the people.

The deepening of the general crisis of capitalism is also being manifested in the mounting anti-imperialist movement in Asian and African countries. The newly-born national states are stepping up the struggle for their economic and political independence and their opposition to imperialist attempts to prevent their progressive development. Latin America is living through a period of powerful upsurge of the liberation struggle. The forerunner of this upsurge was the victorious Cuban revolution. The revolutionary process has now embraced Chile where the Popular Unity bloc came to power. Progressive changes are being effected in Peru. The revolutionary forces, overcoming the fierce resistance of internal and foreign reaction, are growing stronger in other countries of Latin America which has become one of the most active fronts of the anti-imperialist struggle.

The national liberation movement is increasingly characterised by a deepening social content. In many countries it is spreading to include struggle against the relations of exploitation. A number of newly-free states have embarked on the road of non-capitalist development and have made their objective the building of a socialist society.

Our Party is consistently developing friendly relations with progressive forces of the national liberation movement. The CPSU unswervingly follows the behests of Lenin who pointed to the immense revolutionary possibilities of the national liberation movement and advanced the idea of international solidarity of the revolutionary proletariat and the peoples battling for national freedom and independence. Giving every support to the trend towards the cohesion of all revolutionary movements, our Party proceeds from the conviction that close, sincere cooperation between revolutionary democratic parties and Communists, both internationally and on the scale of individual countries, is the key to the final victory of national liberation revolutions, the way to ensure the independent, progressive development of newly-free states.

World developments show that imperialism has not given up

attempting to set back the clock of history but is doing everything it can to prolong the existence of the system of exploitation and oppression and exacerbate international tensions. The peoples of the world, however, are increasingly rebuffing these designs. Growing numbers of people are speaking out against imperialism, for peace, national independence, social progress, democracy and socialism. In this struggle the working people of socialist countries, the labour and democratic movement in capitalist lands and the nations freed from colonial oppression and fighting for national liberation are coming even closer together.

The world communist movement is the leader of today's revolutionary, progressive forces. This movement is strong by virtue of its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, because of its irreconcilability in the fight against right and "left" revisionism. The problems of the political and ideological unity of communist ranks have always been in the centre of attention of our Party. The 24th CPSU Congress has greatly contributed to strengthening the unity of the world communist movement. Addressing the congress, delegates of fraternal parties expressed deep solidarity with the home and foreign policies of our Party and emphasised the historic role of the CPSU and the Soviet land as the leading force in the world revolutionary process. In the post-congress period, the CPSU's international links with Marxist-Leninist parties have been further consolidated and expanded.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution sharply changed the course of world development and signified the beginning of a radical turn in the whole system of international relations. From the inception of the Soviet state its foreign policy became a potent factor in the establishment of the new social system, in the consolidation of all revolutionary, progressive forces, in the countering of the aggressive policy of imperialism. The foreign policy programme of the CPSU, adopted by the 24th Party Congress, fully accords with the present phase of the struggle for peace and international security, of the confrontation between socialism and capitalism. This programme is a fusion of the national interests of the Soviet people and their internationalism.

The Soviet peace programme reflects the consistency of the CPSU's foreign policy whose foundation was formulated by Lenin. It is a comprehensive programme linking the immediate tasks and long-range objectives of Soviet foreign policy. The programme is characterised by a militant anti-imperialist spirit, a clear-cut class orientation and a realistic, constructive approach to international issues ripe for solution through negotiation and cooperation. Soviet actions in the international arena are actuated not by expediency but by a principled strategic line based on scientific analysis of the laws of world development.

The course of events over the last few months has fully corroborated the correctness of the appraisal of the world situation given

at the congress and the efficacy of the Soviet peace programme. This programme is being successfully put into practice. The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government have taken a number of important steps with regard to the basic trends and problems of international politics.

The Crimean meeting in August this year between leaders of several fraternal socialist states served to further strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist community. Treaties of friendship and cooperation have been signed with Egypt and India. Certain positive results have been achieved at the Soviet-American strategic-arms-limitation talks.

Progressive people everywhere met with satisfaction the Soviet proposals for the convocation of a conference by the five nuclear powers, for the holding of a world disarmament conference with the participation of all states, for the reduction of troops and armaments in Central Europe, for the prohibition of bacteriological weapons, for the stoppage of underground nuclear tests, and others.

The exchange of visits, consultations and talks with government and political leaders of various countries by the Soviet Union promote the improvement of foreign relations and peace and cooperation among nations. During the past few months, Comrade Brezhnev has visited Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary and the German Democratic Republic, and Comrade Kosygin, the Republic of Cuba. This has helped to extend Soviet cooperation with these countries. A Soviet party and government delegation led by Comrade Podgorny has paid a visit to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In the course of the visit our inviolable friendship and fraternal cooperation with this heroic country have once more been strikingly illustrated.

There have been recent negotiations with the heads of state and government of a number of newly-free countries, such as Egypt, Algeria, India and others, as well as of a number of capitalist countries.

All these measures were aimed at the consolidation of the international position of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, at the consistent implementation of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence, and at the support of the national liberation forces. These measures are an effective contribution to the cause of peace, security, freedom and progress of nations. Of paramount importance, from this viewpoint, were Comrade Brezhnev's meeting with the FRG Federal Chancellor, Willy Brandt, the visits of Comrade Podgorny to Egypt and Comrade Kosygin to Algeria and Canada.

Comrade Brezhnev's recent visit to France and his talks with President Pompidou were an event of great significance. As a result of this visit the community of approaches by the Soviet Union and France to many urgent international, and European problems in the first place, was confirmed and better understanding developed. Cooperation between the USSR and France in different spheres has been provided with new prospects for its development. The entire atmos-

phere of the visit, the joint documents adopted and world comment give cause to believe that the results of the visit will have favourable and lasting consequences for the relaxation of international tensions, the strengthening of European security, and the promotion of world peace.

The Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers have fully approved Comrade Brezhnev's visit to France, which proved to be of great international significance.

One of the basic trends of the foreign policy activity of our Party and the Soviet state is the struggle for the consolidation of peace and security in Europe.

The successful development of Soviet-French relations is an effective factor for consolidating European security and cooperation. Both countries have voiced their readiness to cooperate closely in pursuing a policy aimed at relaxing tensions and maintaining peace in Europe.

The four-power agreement on West Berlin, achieved with the Soviet Union's constructive participation, proved to be an important step on the way to normalising the situation in Europe. For many years the West Berlin issue had been one of the most dangerous sources of world tensions. The agreement on this problem is a major contribution to European security. It is based on the consideration of European political realities and fully meets the demands for respecting the independence, sovereign rights and interests of the German Democratic Republic. The normalisation of the political climate in relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany opens up favourable prospects for the solution of many problems upon which European and world security depend.

The Soviet Union is making persistent efforts toward the convocation of an all-European conference on security and cooperation in Europe. In this it has the support of many countries. Conditions have been created today to call an all-European conference of states in 1972.

The struggle for greater security in Europe is in the interests of all nations. To ensure European security, to turn Europe into a continent of peace, good-neighbourliness and cooperation, to channel the huge production and intellectual resources of European countries toward peaceful development would be a major step on the way to achieving world peace.

Resolute rebuffs to aggressive actions and world tyranny, all-round assistance to peoples fighting imperialist aggression, make part and parcel of our country's foreign policy.

The Soviet Union renders consistent support to the heroic people of Vietnam and the peoples of other countries of Indochina in their just struggle against the US aggressors. We approve of the seven-point proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the

Republic of South Vietnam which create a real and equitable basis for the settlement of the Vietnamese issue. The facts show, however, that the US ruling quarters have no wish for a political settlement of the Indochinese problem. The United States frustrates the Paris talks and is continuing its barbarous bombing of the DRV. But the Vietnamese people have shown that their will to freedom and independence cannot be subdued. The Soviet Union is displaying combat solidarity with the Vietnamese people in their struggle. It is rendering and will continue to render economic and military aid to Vietnam. New agreements have recently been signed for rendering assistance to the DRV in economic construction and for strengthening its defence potential. This is vivid proof of the consistent implementation by our Party and the Soviet people of the great principles of socialist internationalism.

The Soviet Union supports the Arab peoples in their righteous struggle against the American-backed Israeli aggression. It has reaffirmed this support in the course of the recent talks in Moscow between the Soviet leaders and President Anwar Sadat of Egypt.

The Israeli aggressors have exposed themselves in the eyes of the entire world. Frustrating all attempts at a political settlement in the Middle East, they have actually taken steps to annex the seized Arab territories. However, the predatory plans of the Israeli ruling circles rest on unsteady ground. They have not taken into account the firm will of the Arab peoples to defend their lawful interests, or the growing friendship and cooperation between the Arab peoples and the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Stubborn persistence in their aggressive schemes promises to lead the reactionary forces of Israel only into a dangerous blind-alley. The preservation of the hotbed of tension in the Middle East is detrimental not only to the cause of universal peace, but to the interests of the Israeli people themselves.

The situation on the Indian subcontinent has become aggravated of late. This tension is a result of the known events in East Pakistan. The mass-scale reprisals taken by the Pakistani authorities against the population compelled over nine million people to leave their homeland and seek shelter in neighbouring India. The Soviet Union is alarmed by these events. It expresses hope for a peaceful settlement of the differences between the two countries on the basis of a solution, in the first place, of the problem of East Pakistan. The Pakistani authorities must discontinue their reprisals against the population and create conditions for the return of the refugees to their native land.

Pursuing a policy of peace and friendship among peoples, and making constructive proposals aimed at relaxing tensions, the Soviet Union, together with other fraternal countries and peace-loving peoples, has declared and will continue to declare its opposition to all aggressive intrigues of imperialism. World imperialism and, above all, US imperialism, has by no means given up its gross interference

in the internal affairs of other states, its use of armed force and its dangerous military adventures. All this calls for great vigilance on the part of the Soviet people. In the interests of preserving and consolidating universal peace, our Party is constantly concerned to improve the defence capacity of the Soviet Union, to arm its glorious Armed Forces with the most up-to-date military equipment. The Soviet Armed Forces vigilantly guard the interests of our great country. They are ready to deal a crushing blow to any aggressor.

Comrades, the effectiveness of the international policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state is to a great extent determined by the fact that it is inspired by noble and just ideals and that it answers the vital interests of the peoples of all countries. The USSR's foreign policy is held in high regard and has won support among all progressive forces and broad sections of the world's peoples. It is unanimously approved and supported by all our people. The Soviet Union in the future, too, will continue to press resolutely for the consolidation of the unity of socialist countries, the rallying of the forces of the international working class, for national liberation, for peace and the security of peoples, for the creation of peaceful conditions for building socialism and communism.

The CPSU—The Party of Lenin, the Party of the Great October Revolution

Comrades,

The Great October Socialist Revolution, for the first time in mankind's history, brought the working class and its militant vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist Party—to power, to the running of the country. The Party, taking history into its hands, and sparing no efforts, fought and continues to fight for the radical transformation of life on a strictly scientific basis. It is translating into reality the ideals of the working class, the most progressive class in history, and is defending the vital interests of the working people.

The loyalty of the Communist Party to the noble aims of the struggle for a new society, its faithful service in the interests of the people, and its unity of word and action, proved many a time, have won tremendous prestige for our Party among the Soviet people and the working people throughout the world.

The Leninist Party of Communists has fearlessly shouldered the responsibility for the destinies of the country, the destinies of the revolution, and is honourably justifying its high position as Soviet society's guiding and directing force. The whole vast experience of our people's historical constructive work has proved the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the growth of the Communist Party's

leading role in the construction of socialism and communism. The leadership of the Leninist Party is an indispensable condition of new successes in communist construction. The increased importance of the Party's leading role is objectively connected with the giant scale and intricacy of our home and international tasks. It is a reflection of the constantly growing political maturity and creative activity of our people, the broadening of socialist democracy, the necessity for raising the level of the country's administration, the tasks of further development of Marxist Leninist theory, and the needs of the communist education of the members of society.

The Party is guided by Lenin's idea that loyalty to Marxism Leninism is most powerfully expressed in the struggle for its purity, for its creative development and application, and for the solution of the tasks of socialist and communist construction. In this the unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice is clearly manifested, as is their mutual enrichment in the process of the Party's guidance of the entire course of communist construction.

The 24th CPSU Congress became an outstanding example of creative development of the scientific theory of Marxism Leninism, and of the practical implementation of its conclusions and generalisations in communist construction. In the Report of the Party Central Committee, made by Leonid Brezhnev, in the decisions and other materials of the congress, the collective experience of the Party is accumulated and the revolutionary method of Marxist Leninist science is consistently applied to the analysis of social phenomena. The congress enriched the treasury of Marxism Leninism with new generalisations and conclusions, including the theses on a developed socialist society, the specific features of the present stage of the country's economic development, the forms and ways of building the material and technical basis of communism, the perfection of social relations, the moulding of the new man of communist society, and the progress of the world revolutionary process.

The Marxist Leninist teaching is a tremendous force in the revolutionary transformation of the world. Our ideological enemies understand this well. The ideologists of imperialism and their accomplices the right and "left" revisionists, furiously attack Marxism Leninism, striving to slander it, to distort it and rob it of its essence. They want to deprive the working masses of their main weapon in the struggle against their oppressors. The defenders of the capitalists use all possible channels, the most refined methods and technical means for their anti communist propaganda, for the smuggling in of bourgeois and opportunist ideas and views.

However, their attempts are doomed to failure. Capitalism is poor in spirit, it has nothing to oppose communist ideals in the historic battle for the minds and hearts of men. The theoreticians of modern revisionism are sustaining one defeat after another, too. Events are convincingly refuting the Maoist and other petty bourgeois concep-

tions whose complete insolvency is being seen with increasing clarity by the world's working people.

Our Party has always waged and will continue to wage an irreconcilable struggle against bourgeois ideologies, and will administer a crushing rebuff to all imperialist ideological subversions. It will continue to uphold and propagate the great truth of communist ideas with the same passion and power of conviction as was displayed by Lenin.

The Party has focused its ideological work on fostering in all working people the Marxist-Leninist world outlook, high ideological and political convictions and a communist morality. The improvement of Marxist-Leninist education and the constant concern shown by the Party that the members of society have a thorough understanding of its home and foreign policy and the prospects of social development help to strengthen communist conviction and devotion to ideals, to heighten social activity and responsibility, and enable everyone to occupy his place in the ranks of fighters for communism.

One of the most valuable qualities of the Party is its ability to combine the working out of political policy with day-to-day organising work and mobilisation of the people for the practical fulfilment of plans. Greatly conducive to the improvement of the general style of work is the businesslike atmosphere and considerate and respectful attitude towards people created in the Party and in the country, and the consistent implementation of the Leninist principles in all spheres of our life. A political atmosphere of this kind is particularly valuable to us, because the great and complex cause of the revolutionary transformation of society demands, as Lenin said, not a single impulse but well-organised daily activity. Showing complete confidence in the working people, the Party at the same time educates them in a spirit of high responsibility for the work entrusted to them, of exemplary organisation and discipline and unconditional fulfilment of the duties and tasks undertaken.

Organising the implementation of the historic resolutions of the 24th Congress, the Party has concentrated the efforts and energies of the Soviet people on the solution of key problems of the country's economic, social, political and cultural development, and started an active nation-wide struggle for new victories on the front of communist construction.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is carrying on with honour the great revolutionary cause of the October Revolution. It enjoys the trust of the Soviet people. We Communists are proud of and highly value this trust, as well as the unanimity with which workers, farmers and intellectuals have joined in the work for the fulfilment of the new tasks posed by Party policy. The unity between the Party and the people is a most valuable achievement of socialism. This unity will continue to serve as an inexhaustible source of the invincibility of our great cause!

* * *

Comrades,

Jubilantly celebrating the 54th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Soviet people are proudly viewing the path traversed and confidently looking into the future.

The tremendous achievements of the Soviet Land, the country of the October Revolution, wonderful successes of our friends in the socialist community, the great gains of the international working class and its communist vanguard, of the entire anti-imperialist front–all this forms a reliable foundation on which the great historic cause of the October Revolution rests, develops and gains in strength, on which it will be gaining ever new victories from year to year. The entire course of world development convincingly proves the correctness of the historical road blazed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the working people of our motherland, and the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Today, the efforts of the Soviet people, their creative energies, are directed towards successfully carrying out the immense tasks of the present stage of communist construction. Fulfilment of the Party plans, the decisions of the 24th Congress, will bring us still closer to the great goal for the sake of which the October Revolution was accomplished–the full triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

Long live the heroic Soviet people–builders of communism!

Long live Marxism-Leninism–the great revolutionary teaching of our epoch!

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Party of Lenin–the tried leader of the Soviet people, organiser of communist construction!

Long live communism!

Pravda, November 7, 1971

32nd Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain

The 32nd Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain held in London ended on November 16. The resolutions adopted outlined the main directions of the Party's activity for the forthcoming period.

At its closing session the congress passed a resolution on the key question on the agenda–"Unity, the Communist Party and the Struggle for Socialism." It stressed that in Britain all crisis problems are aggravated by specific factors associated with Britain's loss of its privileged position. The crisis is highlighted by economic stagna-

tion, mass unemployment and growing inflation. The previous Labour Government failed to provide a new course for Britain; instead it sought to solve the country's problems along capitalist lines. The present Tory Government is seeking to solve the crisis by strengthening the position of the big monopolies, attacking the vital interests of the working people, putting Britain into the Common Market, and reverting to cold war policies. But the Tory attempts to put the clock back are doomed to failure because of the changed relation of forces in the world.

The political situation, the resolution points out, is marked by a sharpening of the class struggle. This is exemplified by the mass movement against the anti-trade union bill, by an increasing number of strikes, and by vigorous action against unemployment. Broad sections of people in Britain are campaigning to prevent the country from joining the Common Market. The struggle for peace and European security, for a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict, and for civil rights in Northern Ireland is making headway.

Noting the shift to the left taking place in the trade unions and in the Labour Party, the congress stressed the decisive role of the Communist Party as the political vanguard of the working class armed with Marxist-Leninist ideology and, in this regard, pointed to the need for the Communist Party to grow and to cement its ranks. The resolution outlines the perspectives of struggle for a Labour Government acting under popular pressure and conducting a socialist policy.

The emergency resolution concerning unemployment states that in Britain this scourge of the capitalist system has assumed a new high since the 1930s. The official figure of registered unemployed has reached 930,000 but the real figure is higher. The congress approves the growing determination of the British workers to fight against sackings and lay-offs.

In the resolution on the Common Market and European security, the Communist Party characterises the EEC as a closed bloc of West European states designed to promote the consolidation of capitalism, perpetuate the division of Europe, and maintain political tension on the continent. The drive to join the Common Market is part of the Tories' attempt to aggravate the cold war and to turn the EEC into a NATO instrument. The alternative to the Common Market which the Communist Party proposes is for the British people to trade and have business dealings with all countries pursuing peaceful policy, including the socialist countries. The resolution highly assesses the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to strengthen peace in Europe.

William Wainwright, Member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain, pointed out in his speech that the division of Europe provided the basis for the imperialist cold-war policy and the continuing arms race. For that reason British Communists attach so much importance to an all-European conference.

We believe, he said, that questions relating to European security cannot be left entirely to the governments—the peoples must have their say. We welcome the proposal to convene an all-European conference next year. To prepare for it, a special committee has been set up in Britain, comprised of representatives of different mass organisations, including the Communist Party.

The congress delegates warmly greeted James Stewart, Deputy General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland. In an emergency resolution entitled "Britain and Northern Ireland," the congress vigorously condemned the policy of repression being conducted by London with respect to Ulster. It stressed that the problem of Northern Ireland cannot be solved by military means. The British Government must be forced to stop repressions, carry out the necessary democratic reforms and withdraw British troops.

The congress also adopted resolutions on other questions which are of vital concern for the British people, including the struggle against racism, the position of women in society, and the plight of old age pensioners.

The emergency resolution on Rhodesia condemns the visit of the Foreign Secretary, Alec Douglas-Home, to Salisbury, as a new step in the policy of sell-out to the racist Smith regime.

Pravda, November 17, 1971

The Working People's Growing Struggle

Octavio PATO,
Member of the Central Committee,
Portuguese Communist Party

Old Salazar left the political scene soon after suffering a stroke and not long before his death. The dictator's place was taken by Marcelo Caetano, Salazar's long-standing associate. His first step was to launch an all-out propaganda campaign to convince the people that he would pursue a "new" policy, that the country would be on the side of progress and the government would take "liberalisation" measures in keeping with the requirements of international and domestic life. The new dictator was forced to make these demagogic promises in an attempt to appease the people and isolate the left-wing forces, primarily the Communist Party.

It soon became clear to everyone that Caetano was following the same old policy. As the colonial war continues, foreign monopoly domination is being stepped up. The Portuguese people are still deprived of elementary democratic freedoms. In recent months repressions against the people have been intensified.

The colonial war lasting for over 10 years in Angola and eight years in Guinea (Bissau) and Mozambique has made a deep imprint on all aspects of life in Portugal. Salazar, and now Caetano, in close collaboration with the principal imperialist NATO powers, have already killed thousands of Africans and Portuguese. Caetano has gone even farther, having attempted to organise intervention by mercenaries in the Republic of Guinea.

The struggle against the colonial war is inseparable from the struggle for democratic freedoms in Portugal. The national economy is still in the throes of crisis. The "big leap" policy proclaimed by Caetano has been a dismal failure; almost a half of the state budget continues to be spent on the colonial war and the upkeep of the machine for suppression. There are about 150,000 Portuguese soldiers in the colonies. Over 100,000 Portuguese emigrate annually. Portugal today is probably the only country where the population keeps decreasing.

Seeking to broaden his social basis, Marcelo Caetano has disbanded the ruling "National Union" party and set up the so-called Popular Movement of National Action instead. However, this manoeuvre has not produced the desired results. This "movement" is in effect a replica of the "National Union," a fascist party with the sole right to exist in Portugal.

Caetano ranted about revising the Constitution, a new press law, and so on, but his projects were a far cry from liberalisation. It got to the point where a group of deputies presented their own draft of the Constitution in opposition to the one proposed by the government. But Caetano and his followers would not allow the draft to be discussed. In protest, the deputies who had submitted it walked out of the National Assembly session.

In the beginning of his rule Marcelo Caetano demagogically promised certain changes in Portugal's police regime. He even replaced the hated PIDE (the Salazar secret police) with the DGS (General Security Directorate). However, it turned out to be a farce since only the title was changed. PIDE-DGS continues to remain a tool for suppressing the democratic forces, the working people, and above all, the Communists.

Dozens of Portuguese patriots are held in the Peniche and Caxias prisons. Some of them have been imprisoned for over 10 and even 15 years, including Pires Jorge, Blanqui Teixeira, Dias Lourenco, Jose Margo, Central Committee members of the Portuguese Communist Party, Dominges Arouca, a Mozambique patriot, Manuel Serra, a Catholic. The prison terms of many held in the Peniche prison have long since expired, but they are still kept there for "security reasons."

In the Ilha das Galinhas (Guinea-Bissau), Tarrafal (Cape Verde Islands), Luanda, S. Nicolao Bie, Forte Rocadas (Angola) prisons, and in Mozambique prisons there are hundreds of patriots from Portuguese colonies. In Ilha das Galinhas alone, 470 patriots were

imprisoned in 1968 without trial or investigation. They do not know how long they may be kept there and are cut off from all contact with their relatives.

Repressions in Portugal itself kept mounting as Caetano's "liberalisation" fell through. During the first six months of 1971 hundreds of workers, students, trade unionists and intellectuals were arrested. Almost all of them were beaten and tortured and prevented from sleeping for days. The life of Antonio Gervasio, a prominent member of the Portuguese Communist Party, who was arrested recently, is in serious danger. Mario de Carvalho, a student, was not allowed to sleep for 10 days. Diogo Veles, a worker, was kept awake for eight days. Joaquim Duarte, a tailor, for 13 days.

Repressions assume various forms and affect all aspects of social life. The leadership of a large union of iron-and-steel workers in Lisbon region was banned from functioning. Later the offices of the bank employees' union in Lisbon and Porto regions were closed and the leadership was arrested.

Recently, several workers of a British transport company in Lisbon were sentenced to long prison terms, their only crime being that they participated in a strike for higher pay.

The leading bodies of a number of student organisations were prevented from functioning and many of their active members were arrested. The Portuguese writers' association was banned for having awarded a literary prize to Luandino Vieira, imprisoned Angolese writer and patriot.

These repressions convincingly show the real character of Caetano's "liberalisation." The illusions some people had entertained as a result of the honeyed demagogy of the fascist dictatorship soon vanished. This was largely due to the unceasing courageous struggle of the Communists, representatives of other democratic organisations and the struggle of the working class, the youth and other sections of the population. It is this struggle that forced Caetano to show his true face. Doubtless, it is the Portuguese Communist Party and its correct political line that played the main role in exposing and denouncing the unpopular character of the present regime.

In the last three years there has been a marked upsurge of the activity and organisation of the people. Hundreds of thousands of Portuguese took part in strikes and meetings for their rights. The trade union movement acquired broader scope, and despite the fact that workers' organisations are caught in the vise of fascist laws the working people have succeeded in electing trusted men to leading posts in many trade unions, who rally them in the struggle for higher pay and political rights, including the right to hold strikes.

For example, after a meeting called by the union of Lisbon trade employees a crowd of five thousand, notwithstanding repressions, gathered at the National Assembly building and demanded that a new collective agreement be concluded. Thousands of bank employees in Lisbon and Porto regions, defying the ban on meetings, held de-

monstrations in the centre of these two major cities demanding the release of their trade union leader. Tens of thousands of working people, regardless of persecutions, took part in the May 1st demonstrations this year in many populated centres of the country.

The youth, intellectuals and representatives of other social strata are also active in the struggle against fascism.

Gradually, agricultural workers and peasants, who are becoming proletarianised or are leaving the village on an unprecedented scale, are joining in the common struggle against fascist dictatorship.

Recently, a national committee of struggle for freedom of expression was formed on a broad basis, including democrats of all political trends. A national committee to aid political prisoners, consisting of dozens of people of different political convictions, gives moral and material support to political prisoners and their families.

The growing popular discontent is also manifested in mounting struggle against the colonial war waged by the country's ruling circles. The democratic forces' efforts in denouncing the colonial policy of the government have resulted in scores of thousands of soldiers deserting from the army or failing to turn up at recruiting stations.

The emergence of the ARA organisation (Armed Revolutionary Action) and its activities show that the struggle against the colonial war has assumed wide scope and acquired new forms. ARA commandos have destroyed about 20 aircraft on a military airfield that were used for operations in the colonies. In the port of Lisbon military equipment has been destroyed and a ship ready to sail to the colonies has been damaged. During the NATO Council session held in Lisbon this year an explosion damaged the internal and international telephone and telegraph communication centre.

However, in the present conditions these actions are not the principal aspect of the struggle against fascism and the colonial war. Despite their great importance the main direction continues to be the political mobilisation of the people and the development of a broad anti-fascist movement. To create proper conditions for turning the struggle into an armed uprising of the entire people it is necessary to use the most diverse forms of struggle and organisations—legal, semi-legal and underground—and to strengthen the democratic movement, particularly the Portuguese Communist Party organisations among the working class, peasantry, youth and intelligentsia. The Portuguese Communists, along with all the working people firmly believe that in the course of this struggle the fascist dictatorship will be smashed, permitting revolutionary transformations in Portugal, the establishment of democratic freedoms in the country, freedom for the colonies, liberation of our land from imperialist domination and adoption of a peace policy.

Pravda, November 20, 1971

21st Convention of the Communist Party of Canada

The 21st Convention of the Communist Party of Canada opened in Toronto on November 27, 1971.

In his keynote address to the convention William Kashtan, General Secretary of the Party, said that the Canadian Communists had reason to be proud of the contributions the Party had made over the 50 years of its existence to the organisation and advance of the working class and its democratic allies in the cause of peace, democracy, independence and socialism. The Communist Party of Canada has always held high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It combined patriotism with fraternal internationalist solidarity with the first socialist country–the USSR–and with the socialist community of states, with the workers of the world and all peoples fighting for their emancipation from imperialist rule.

W. Kashtan went on to say that the 21st Convention was held at a time characterised by the further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism and by a continuation of the revolutionary upsurge throughout the world and the growing anti-imperialist movement in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

While imperialism is undergoing a profound economic, political and ideological crisis, the most acute of the postwar period, the speaker said, the world socialist system, and the Soviet Union in the first place, continues to progress in all fields. The socialist world's strength and authority are growing. The socialist countries are not affected by economic crises, by unemployment, by rising prices, by currency crises.

The historical initiative remains firmly in the hands of the revolutionary forces, the world socialist system, the international working class and the national liberation forces, said W. Kashtan. This can be seen in the peace offensive undertaken by the Soviet Union since the 24th Congress of the CPSU. This offensive is already bearing important fruit. The recently concluded treaties, along with the visits of Leonid Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders to foreign countries have strengthened the trend to peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, to international détente, to tearing down the vestiges of the cold war and to the promotion of world peace. The General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada said that the joint Soviet-Canadian communique signed during the visit of the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers to Canada was to be welcomed as a significant contribution in that direction.

W. Kashtan went on to say that since the Party's last convention there had been a strengthening and consolidation of the unity of action of the international communist and workers' movement. In particular, this was reflected in the growing cohesion of the anti-impe-

rialist forces of the world. In this connection W. Kashtan severely criticised the splitting anti-Soviet activities carried on by the Chinese leaders.

The consistent struggle against Maoism and for the purity of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, the General Secretary said, is part and parcel of the struggle for unity of action of all anti-imperialist forces, and unity and cohesion of the international communist and working-class movement.

W. Kashtan stressed that Vietnam continued to be the centre of the global struggle against imperialism and particularly against US imperialism. He said that the Party should do its best to unite the majority of the Canadian people in support of the demand for a complete and unconditional withdrawal of US imperialism from Indochina and for the right of the people of that region to manage their own affairs.

The critical situation in the Middle East, the threat of a military conflict between India and Pakistan, the need for a conference on European security, the question of Canada's recognition of the GDR, nuclear disarmament—these are issues which demand the utmost attention of the Party and the Canadian peace movement.

The speaker said that the present-day US economic policy was fraught with grave consequences for Canada and led to a slow-down in Canada's industrial development, to tightening American control over Canadian economy, to Canada becoming a raw-material appendage of the United States and to lower living standards of Canadian working people. Ever growing sections of Canadians, the speaker went on, realise that the road to genuine Canadian independence lies through friendship and closer political and economic ties with the socialist countries and, above all, with the Soviet Union which is a consistent champion of national independence and self-determination.

Monopoly capital would have to be defeated politically to free Canada from the present domination of US imperialism. The Canadian Communists, the speaker continued, should set themselves the political aim of uniting all patriotic, democratic and progressive forces around a programme for winning genuine Canadian independence from US imperialism and liberating the country from monopoly capital rule.

The speaker devoted considerable attention to the Party's policy with regard to the forthcoming federal election and to problems of the Communist Party organisation.

W. Kashtan expressed confidence that the convention would mark a new stage in the struggle of the working class, of all the working people of Canada for the independence of the country, for peace and socialism.

A message of greetings from the CPSU Central Committee was enthusiastically received by the participants in the convention.

The convention considered the Party's redrafted programme, "The Road to Socialism in Canada." The document outlines the strategic tasks of the Party, analyses the nature of, and the relationship between, the forces in the struggle for a socialist Canada, as well as various stages leading to this goal.

In the course of the discussion the delegates stressed that the redrafting of the programme was timely as the redraft took into account the changing political situation in the country. The participants approved a number of amendments to the redraft.

After the discussion, the convention adopted the programme. It was emphasised that the redraft of the programme would become the Party's reliable weapon in the struggle against alien ideas, for establishing a united front of the working class with all the progressive and democratic forces in the country in advancing towards independence, peace and socialism.

Following the adoption of the redrafted programme the delegates considered the draft policy statement. Based on the major aims of the programme, the statement focuses on the Communist Party's tactical tasks and practical work to be carried out in the specific present-day situation.

The policy statement contains a programme for the immediate future. A basic element of this programme is struggle for genuine Canadian independence from the United States.

In their policy statement Canadian Communists call for the comprehensive development of Canada's contacts and cooperation with the socialist countries and, above all, with the Soviet Union. They welcome the steps in this direction taken by Prime Minister Trudeau and his government.

The struggle for an independent foreign policy for Canada is also one of the key issues of the policy statement.

Having considered a number of amendments the convention approved the policy statement which provides Canadian Communists with a concrete programme of action for the immediate future.

Greetings to the convention were read from fraternal communist and workers' parties.

The participants warmly welcomed the fraternal delegates from the communist parties of Italy, the USA and France. Addressing the convention Marius Bertou, Member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, spoke very highly about the recent visit of Leonid Brezhnev to France.

The 21st Communist Party Convention also approved a number of resolutions on domestic and international issues.

The convention elected the Central Committee and other leading bodies. William Kashtan was re-elected General Secretary of the Party.

Pravda, November 28, 29 and 30, 1971

The Second Congress of the German Communist Party

The Second Congress of the German Communist Party, which ended on November 28, 1971 in Dusseldorf, was an important event for the Party and West German working people.

The report of the Party's Governing Board, the congress theses, based on the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin and the resolutions of the congress, contain a profound analysis of the political situation and the results of the struggle, and map out future policy. The congress resolutions seek to strengthen the influence of the GCP among the masses and above all among the working class and youth, to intensify the working people's struggle for their social and democratic rights, and to further the cause of peace and security in Europe.

It was with great attention that the congress participants heard the address by A. Y. Pelshe, head of the CPSU delegation, who conveyed to the congress the warm, fraternal greetings of the CPSU Central Committee, of Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, CC CPSU General Secretary, and all Soviet Communists.

The following is a summary of A. Y. Pelshe's address.

A congress is an important event for any fraternal party. At their congresses, which are the supreme party forums, Communists make a down-to-earth review of their progress and critically appraise the results of their struggle. Congresses outline the future policy and tasks of the party.

There is another aspect which should be kept in mind. Speaking at their congresses Communists address the people of their country. Frankly and openly they tell the people about their aims and intentions, and this is highly significant.

Ever since our movement emerged our class enemies have spared no effort to unleash violent anti-communist campaigns.

Our congresses, the resolutions passed and what is being done by the parties to implement them give the people a convincing and true picture of the Communists. People the world over become increasingly aware that Communists stand for genuine democracy, real social progress, that they have no other interests but the interests of the working people.

Political declarations and slogans have to be put to test. What the Communists advocate has already stood such test. Our aims and ideals are being realised in the socialist countries. Of course, the peoples of those countries have not yet achieved everything that they aspire for. There are still many tasks to be carried out but it has already been proved beyond doubt that socialism has immense

advantages over any other social system, and this gives us new strength.

In many countries fraternal parties must contend with capitalist conditions. But even in those countries their activity has become part and parcel of the life of the people. Hundreds and thousands of examples have made it evident that the activities of the communist parties constitute an indispensable factor of social progress.

We have listened very attentively to Comrade Bachmann's report and we are deeply convinced that the political programme put forth accords with the vital interests of the working people and population of the Federal Republic of Germany.

Lenin taught our Party: when meeting foreign Communists inform them about what has been achieved and what is being planned for the future. Allow me to proceed accordingly.

Comrade Pelshe described the 24th CPSU Congress as the major event in the life of the Party and state in 1971, and gave a detailed account about the significance of the congress and the tasks the Soviet people are carrying out under the leadership of the CPSU to ensure the country's increased economic potential and defence might, higher living standards, and the lasting peace and security of nations.

We are certainly well aware, he continued, that we can carry out our constructive plans only if peace is secured for our country. Our people's desire for a firm security is best expressed in the peace programme approved by the 24th CPSU Congress and what our Party is doing to implement it. Extremely important in this respect were the visits which comrades Brezhnev, Podgorny and Kosygin as well as members and alternate members of the Politbureau and secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee paid to several foreign countries. The plenary meeting of the Central Committee of our Party, held on November 22-23, 1971, fully approved the international activities of the Politbureau and outlined further significant steps to be taken in this field in the near future.

The world press has been writing at length about the Soviet Union's peace offensive. True, we are on the offensive, comrades; it is directed against the forces of aggression, reaction and war. This offensive safeguards the interests of both the Soviet people and the people of good-will the world over. We have no territorial claims and do not infringe the interests of other countries and nations. We are for peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

European security is one of the problems with which we are constantly concerned. Together with its friends, the socialist countries, the Soviet Union has repeatedly come out with concrete proposals for attaining European security, partial reduction of troops and armaments in Europe and the solution of other cardinal European problems. A situation is now arising which makes it possible to carry out these proposals. This is a result of a shift in the balance of forces, a

result of the peaceful foreign policy pursued by the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, a result of the persistent struggle of the communist parties and all progressive forces in non-socialist countries; it is also a result of a more realistic approach towards the solution of European problems, taken today by a certain section of the ruling circles in a number of Western countries.

Deep-going changes have taken place in the relations between our countries. The Soviet Communists and the entire Soviet people have assessed very highly the treaty between the USSR and the FRG signed in Moscow in August 1970. The treaty has provided a good basis for concrete and mutually advantageous activities with regard to trade and economic contacts, and scientific, technological and cultural exchanges.

The favourable developments in the relations between our countries are largely due to the West German Communists who have always resolutely and consistently condemned anti-Sovietism and revenge-seeking, and worked for goodneighbourly relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic.

The treaty has not yet been ratified. We are aware that some influential circles, including those in your country, would like to impede its ratification and implementation. But we are also aware that the forces supporting its immediate ratification are gaining in strength in the FRG. These forces are fully justified in demanding that this important document signed by the two states should become operative. They point out, and with good reason, that such a development would constitute a considerable contribution to European security.

The treaties signed by the USSR and Poland with the FRG, the agreement on West Berlin, the important meeting between Leonid Brezhnev and Chancellor Willy Brandt in the Crimea and, last but not least, Comrade Brezhnev's visit to France and his talks with President Georges Pompidou have created favourable ground for a practical approach to such a crucial issue as the convening of an all-European conference on security and cooperation. It can be stated now that there are excellent prospects for such a meeting. However, there are, naturally, still many obstacles in the way.

At that most representative European forum the German Democratic Republic, the first German state of workers and farmers and member of the great socialist family of nations, will take its seat alongside other countries. We would particularly like to emphasise that the unconditional recognition of the GDR's sovereign rights and of its important role in European affairs is an indispensable prerequisite for solving the problems of peace and security in Europe.

The solution of such a problem as European security would accord with the interests of both the peoples of our continent and those of the entire world. On the other hand peace in Europe is greatly influenced by the situation on other continents.

We Communists never forget that the peoples of Indochina are

still shedding their blood, that the conflict in the Middle East has not yet been settled and the Israeli aggressors are still brandishing their arms: the imperialist forces of aggression and war are still doing their dirty work.

The Soviet Union will continue rendering assistance to the heroic Vietnamese people and to the Arab peoples trying to eliminate the aftermaths of Israeli aggression. We shall continue to be solidly behind those fighting for independence, justice, peace, democracy and progress.

Our Party considers that the cementing of unity of the communist movement is a prime condition for a successful anti-imperialist struggle. The 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow created a good basis for consolidating political and ideological unity in the ranks of the world communist movement. Today we can confidently declare that new successes have been scored in this field since the 1969 Meeting.

We assure you, comrades, that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to fight for greater unity in the ranks of the world communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Our parties have always stood side by side in the great offensive waged by reason against obscurantism, progress against reaction, and good-will against ill-will and violence. The selfless activity of West German Communists has invariably had the understanding of all members of our Party and all Soviet people.

* * *

The Dusseldorf Congress of the GCP, the second since the Party was established, was characterised by a high degree of organisation and militancy. It was held at the time when many industrial centres in the Federal Republic were gripped by the metal workers' strike. The strikers' representatives addressed the congress and received unanimous support and solidarity from the congress delegates.

The need for concerted action by Communists, Social-Democrats and all sections of the working people loomed high on the agenda. The congress resolutions suggest concrete fields of common interest and joint action.

The theses of the congress declare that "the GCP fights for socialism creatively applying the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin to the conditions prevailing in the FRG." The Communists' worthy aims win the support of the most active and conscientious sections of the working and student youth, who provide the bulk of new members recruited into the Party. The congress has shown that the valuable experience of tested Party veterans is matched in the German Communist Party with the dynamism and optimism of youth.

West German Communists regard their resolute struggle for peace, against militarist and revenge-seeking circles as their prime national and international duty. The GCP calls for the unity of all peace-loving forces of the country. The congress reports, documents and speeches stressed the great significance of the treaties that the FRG signed with the Soviet Union and Poland, and urged that they be quickly ratified and implemented. The congress pointed to the urgent need for convening an all-European conference on security and co-operation and for establishing normal relations between the two German states.

The Dusseldorf Congress was held in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. It produced still further proof that the GCP is linked by unbreakable bonds of unity and friendship with the Party of Lenin and the Soviet Union.

The speeches by fraternal delegates from socialist and capitalist countries showed a consensus of opinion on the world's cardinal problems, a united approach to the questions of peace and security in Europe and broad support of the peace programme proposed by the CPSU.

The work of the Dusseldorf Congress, its resolutions and the election of the Party's leading bodies exemplified a political, ideological and organisational unity of the German Communist Party.

With increased confidence in their strength and possibilities the West German Communists are proceeding to implement the resolutions approved by the Dusseldorf Congress of the GCP.

Pravda, November 26 and 30, 1971

Soviet-Japanese Trade Union Contacts Expand

P. PIMENOV,
Secretary of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions

For a number of years now Soviet and Japanese trade unions have been exchanging delegations, organising bilateral meetings between leaders of central trade union associations and participating in international working-class solidarity campaigns. In the last two years more than fifty Japanese trade union delegations visited the Soviet Union and dozens of Soviet TU delegations went to Japan.

The Japanese unions, which are members of the Sohyo and Churitsu Roren associations, are persistently fighting for working people's interests, against the monopolies infringing the essential rights

of the working class and against the policy of militarisation.

In the course of many years Soviet and Japanese trade unions have developed effective and fruitful forms of cooperation. In this respect an important role is played by the Soviet-Japanese Standing Trade Union Commission, jointly established in 1966 by Sohyo, Churitsu Roren and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. The Commission is a permanently functioning body which coordinates contacts and cooperation between the trade unions of both countries. Mass forums of trade union representatives from the two countries held alternatively in Japan and the USSR have become customary. "For Peace and Friendship Between the People of Japan and the Soviet Union"—is the motto of the forums.

Such a forum, the second on Japanese soil, took place in October 1971. Like the preceding meeting held in Yokohama and dedicated to the Lenin birth centenary, it was a great success.

The Soviet delegation was composed of front-rank workers, scientists, cultural figures and trade union officials. It was warmly welcomed by the Japanese working people.

Vital issues pertaining to the condition and struggle of the working people, working-class solidarity and important international problems were discussed at the meeting. Comrades M. Ichikawa and S. Oki, Chairman and General Secretary of Sohyo respectively, and comrades M. Abe and S. Okamura, Chairman and General Secretary of Churitsu Roren, were in charge of preparations for the meeting.

The Soviet delegation travelled to Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Hiroshima, Fukuoka, Kitakyushu and Niigata, visiting factories, offices and educational institutions. Great importance was attached to meetings between trade union delegations of twinned cities: Tokyo–Moscow, Hiroshima–Volgograd, Yokohama–Odessa, Kitakyushu–Zaporozhye, Fukuoka–Donetsk, Kyoto–Kiev, and Osaka–Leningrad.

The Japanese hosts carefully planned every detail of the itinerary for the Soviet delegation, arranging many meetings with people in the same line of work. We visited trade union committees and factories and talked to rank-and-file workers and local trade unionists. These were heart-to-heart talks between brothers belonging to the same class.

While in Japan the representatives of Soviet working people were again able to perceive the interest shown by the Japanese workers in the decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU. Participants in the meeting emphasised that by implementing those decisions the Soviet working people would contribute greatly to the struggle against imperialism, for peace and social progress.

The Japanese trade unionists stressed that the Japanese working class was very much interested in the development of extensive economic cooperation between Japan and the USSR and was delighted that there were now prospects for such cooperation.

They pointed out that Japan's economic development stemmed from the growing exploitation of the working people. They spoke of the unfair distribution of the national income, low wages, gross intensification of labour, the increasing number of accidents at work and the spread of occupational diseases, cutbacks in social security outlays, the acute housing crisis and growing inflation.

The steps taken by the US Government to save the dollar, including the ten per cent import surcharge, have spelled new hardships to the Japanese working people. The Japanese monopolies are trying to overcome their difficulties at the expense of the working class. This is particularly true of the textile industry since a considerable part of the manufactured goods is for the American market.

The Sohyo and Churitsu Roren representatives were alarmed at the threat of reviving militarism in the country which results in worsened conditions and suppression of the working people's rights. The Soviet delegation was given details about the traditional campaigns mounted by Japanese trade unions every spring and autumn.

Participants in the Tokyo meeting "For Peace and Friendship Between the Peoples of Japan and the Soviet Union" adopted documents expressing common views on a number of pressing problems both in the world at large and in the international trade union movement. They resolutely condemned the US imperialist aggression against the peoples of Indochina and declared their full support of the courageous struggle carried on by the patriots of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. The representatives of Soviet and Japanese trade unions protested against the Israeli aggression in the Middle East and called for the elimination of its aftermaths as soon as possible. They also spoke in favour of convening a world conference on general disarmament.

It was felt that international trade union conferences on social and economic problems affecting the working people and round-table discussions to consider the burning problems of the international trade union movement could have a positive effect on united action by trade unions.

The forums held by the Soviet and Japanese trade unions refute bourgeois propaganda claims that it is impossible to maintain genuine comradely contacts between trade unions of countries with differing social systems.

New prospects are appearing for the development of Soviet-Japanese trade union cooperation. The Soviet-Japanese Standing Trade Union Commission, at its meeting held on the eve of the Tokyo forum, outlined a wide range of measures for facilitating closer contacts between the trade unions of the two countries. These measures include exchanges of delegations, lecturers, amateur artistic groups, sport teams, workers' and tourist groups.

Trade unions constitute a powerful social and political force today. Their membership in the developed capitalist countries alone

amounts to 75 million people, which is roughly one-third of the total number of office and industrial workers. In the course of the continuing class battle in the capitalist countries the working class is becoming better organised and more militant. The resultant changes in the class awareness of the working people promote the development of international ties between trade unions and provide new possibilities for strengthening many-sided cooperation in behalf of peace and social progress.

Pravda, December 2, 1971

FOREIGN
PRESS
COMMENT

"Akahata" on the Course Pursued by the Leadership of the Communist Party of China

"Akahata", the newspaper of the CC CPJ, published an article entitled "The Japan-China Question and the Communist Party of Japan."

Relations between the communist parties of China and Japan, the editorial says, have been in a state of rupture in recent years through no fault of the Communist Party of Japan. On a number of important questions, there had been divergences of opinion between the two parties earlier, including the position of the Chinese side which considers the split of the international communist movement to be inevitable, its position with regard to groups expelled from the party of another country and the position vis-à-vis the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. However, the CPJ has consistently adhered to a correct stand without rejecting the necessary cooperation with the Chinese Party even when there were differences of opinion, provided the other side did not interfere in the affairs of the CPJ.

But from the spring of 1966 on, individuals in the CPC holding great-power views made attacks on the CPJ as their "enemy" on the pretext of "contradictions on questions of policy." As a result of prolonged and unwarranted great-power interference for imposing CPC course on the revolutionary and democratic movement in Japan, the friendly relations were undermined, giving rise to the present state of rupture.

During the negotiations between the delegations of the CPC and CPJ in March 1966, *Akahata* writes, when the CPC delegation put

forward the so-called course of an "anti-American and anti-Soviet united front," the CPJ delegation repudiated the attempts of the Chinese side to impose this fallacious course.

Subsequently, *Akahata* writes, mutual agreement was reached on strengthening solidarity and joint action by the two parties on questions on which there is an identity of views, without touching on the matters causing divergences. A joint communique was then worked out, which was officially approved at a meeting of the delegations of the two parties on March 27, and a day was set for its publication.

On the following day, however, when the CPJ delegation made a stopover in Shanghai on its way home, where it had a talk with Mao Tse-tung, the latter unexpectedly came up with "a draft amendment" to the joint communique of the two parties which had already been officially endorsed by both delegations. This "draft amendment" again raised the question of including in the joint communique the insistence of the Chinese side on "the anti-American and anti-Soviet united front," and attempts were made to impose the amendment, unjustified in content, on the Communist Party of Japan. The CPJ delegation naturally did not agree with this "draft amendment." Then Mao Tse-tung stated that the joint communique need not be published and unilaterally cancelled the officially approved joint communique.

Divergences of views on different questions and "contradictions in policy" are quite possible in relations between communist parties of different countries, the newspaper continues. But if each communist party firmly observes the norms of unity of the world communist movement and does not attack and interfere with the internal affairs of another party because of divergences, normal relations between the two parties in question can be maintained and developed.

Even after the talks between the two parties had been discontinued in 1966, the Communist Party of Japan strictly observed the norms of relations between the fraternal parties, abstained from open criticism of the CPC on questions of divergences. However, individuals in the CPC committing interference, dogmatically called the CPJ a vehicle of "revisionism" because the CPJ delegation disagreed with the Chinese thesis of "the anti-American and anti-Soviet united front," and completely rejected the norms of unity of the international communist movement. Despite protests from the CPJ, the article continues, they launched a large-scale campaign to impose their course on the Japanese democratic and revolutionary movement and began to use as a means of interference various channels of ties between the two countries which had been set up for establishing Japan-China friendship. This campaign, *Akahata* notes, included the demand that the Japanese revolutionary movement switch over to the course of "armed uprising" on the Chinese pattern, deification of Mao Tse-tung and absolutisation of the "ideas of Mao Tse-tung."

Beginning with 1967, *Akahata* writes, individuals in the CPC committing interference, made attacks on the CPJ through the Hsinhua Agency, *Jenmin jihpao* and *Peiching Choupao,* calling it a vehicle of "revisionism," "traitor to Marxism-Leninism," "henchman of American imperialism," etc., and censuring and slandering it. They regard the fact that the CPJ opposed the absolute of the "ideas of Mao Tse-tung" and their attempts to impose the CPC course on the Japanese revolutionary movement as the most important reason for attacking the CPJ.

Severance of relations between the two parties, the newspaper stresses, was mainly due to the fact that the individuals in the CPC committing interference did not confine themselves to a propaganda campaign against the CPJ, but went as far as undertaking splitting and subversive actions to topple the CPJ leadership. When, in keeping with its Rules, the CPJ expelled from its ranks anti-party splitting elements and those blindly following foreign forces, the individuals in the CPC committing interference extolled these anti-party elements as "genuine revolutionaries," invited them to China, published their anti-party statements in *Jenmin jihpao* and other press organs and helped them in every way in their activity to undermine the Party. It hardly need be said that to impose one's party course on another country, to establish relations with anti-party elements who are trying to undermine and split the communist party in their own country, and to support their anti-party activity in the world communist movement are all malicious, hostile actions leading to a rupture of relations between the parties and are vicious acts of interference in the internal affairs of another party. This is not merely outright violation of fundamental norms of relations between parties, which call for independence, equality and non-interference in internal affairs, but actually means implementing great-power designs for establishing domination over the party and people of another country.

Full responsibility for the rupture of relations between the two parties, *Akahata* writes, rests with the great-power interference of the CPC which is trying by different unlawful acts to impose its course on the CPJ and the Japanese people.

The main motive for this interference by individuals in the CPC is their abnormal great-power aspirations for establishing ideological and political hegemony over the world communist movement and the struggle of the peoples of the whole world, and imposing their specific political and "revolutionary" course on the peoples of other countries, the paper points out.

The individuals in the CPC committing interference have dogmatically proclaimed the "ideas of Mao Tse-tung" "the summit of Marxism-Leninism" and extolled their specific course based on the "ideas of Mao Tse-tung," the concept of the "anti-American and anti-Soviet united front" and the theory of "violent revolution as the only means." They demanded that the communist parties and re-

volutionary movement of the world unreservedly accept this course.

There is no doubt, the newspaper writes, that interference in the affairs of Japan by individuals from the CPC is one of the links of a great-power plan for establishing domination over the parties and revolutionary movement in other countries. The CPJ's all-round theoretical criticism of interference by individuals from the CPC, the newspaper continues, has become one of the serious obstacles to their great-power and splitting schemes. A determined stand against this great-power interference is therefore not merely a question of relations between the communist parties of Japan and China, but is a serious historical task of the CPJ in both upholding the independence of Japan's revolutionary and democratic movement and defending the ranks of the world communist movement and its common cause.

The past five years, *Akahata* points out, testify to the political and theoretical bankruptcy of those individuals in the CPC who interfere in the affairs of the CPJ and the Japanese people. These years have also shown the bankruptcy of the Chinese theories of the "anti-American and anti-Soviet united front," "anti-parliamentarism and violent revolution as the only means," of their attacks on the theory of "neutral defence," the appraisal of Japanese militarism and other demagogical attacks and inventions.

However, the individuals in the CPC committing interference have not renounced their attacks on the revolutionary and democratic movement in Japan.

As long as individuals in the CPC continue their great-power interference in Japan's revolutionary movement, they are deceiving the entire world and their own people, though in their statements they claim that they are "opposed to great-power interference" and that "China will never be a superpower." If they really renounce their great-power ambitions and observe in good faith the principle "each nation itself solves its internal affairs," *Akahata* emphasises, then they must immediately and resolutely stop their unwarranted attacks on the CPJ and unlawful interference in Japan's revolutionary and democratic movement. It is this that opens the way to establishing "mutual relations on the principles of equality and non-interference in internal affairs" between the peoples of Japan and China and between the communist parties of the two countries. It is this—and the decisions of our Party congress also make the point—that opens the way for the return of the CPC from the great-power course, to which the CPC adheres at present and which is a disgrace to the international communist movement, to the course of revolutionary spirit and moderation as befits the history and traditions of the CPC.

The article also discusses a number of problems relating to the general state of Japan-China relations.

Pravda, September 10, 1971

The Policy of Splitting Anti-Imperialist Forces

Article from "El Popular", newspaper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay

The confidential talks that H. Kissinger, President Nixon's special envoy, has had with Chinese leaders have resulted in an invitation for the US President to visit Peking next year, before elections are held in the United States. The invitation has been accepted. In response, the US Secretary of State, William Rogers, has declared that the United States, which has always supported Chiang Kai-shek and his ruling clique in Taiwan, will now vote for the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations Organisation. Before that restrictions on US citizens' travel to China and the selling of non-strategic goods to China were lifted.

These actions were unexpected by those who believed the stirring declartions of the Chinese leaders about their intentions of destroying imperialism once and for all. In actual fact, rapprochement between Peking and Washington is far from accidental and has a long history.

Edward Friedman, American sinologist and Wisconsin University professor, maintains that President Johnson received a similar invitation to visit China in 1964. Both Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai have time and again indicated that President Nixon would be welcome to come to Peking. On July 16, H. Kissinger stated at a press-conference that his trip had been the final stage in a two-year sounding-out move by the President. In the first years of his presidency General Eisenhower was interested in the idea of recognising China, since among other things it could be a means of estranging that country from the Soviet Union.

In 1966 President Johnson had the same intention of consolidating diplomatically the Chinese leaders' break with the world communist and working-class movement and the socialist community. But what is most important is that these attempts in their present form serve the aims of imperialism, American imperialism above all, to drive a wedge between the socialist countries. The common feature of President Nixon and the Chinese leaders is their extreme aggressiveness with regard to the Soviet Union. In this connection the American *Time* magazine frankly admitted that very cordial relations between the United States and China could be a means for counteracting the Soviet Union.

This conclusion is confirmed by the theory and practical activities of the Chinese leadership.

This is most evident in the case of Vietnam, whose defence is the duty of all freedom-loving peoples.

On July 19, the newspaper *Nhan Dan*, central organ of the Viet-

nam Workers' Party, commented in an editorial that the Nixon doctrine was a global, counter-revolutionary strategy aimed at splitting the socialist countries. The article also noted that "to achieve its selfish aims American imperialism stakes on its military might, on setting up an alliance with counter-revolutionary forces in any part of the world, on splitting the socialist countries, on setting one country against another, so as to halt the development of the national liberation movement and thus effect a 'peaceful' counter-revolutionary coup in socialist countries." This is borne out by the United States policy in Indochina.

The publicity given to President Nixon's visit to Peking was used to distract world attention from the continuing war in Vietnam and the whole of Indochina and to stall replying to the concrete proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam calling for a withdrawal of all American forces this year. Certain circles in the United States harbour illusions about reaching an agreement behind the backs of the Vietnamese people. Within the United States itself and outside the USA the invitation for President Nixon to visit China was regarded as being detrimental to the Vietnamese patriots' struggle.

There are numerous instances of China's using its geographic position to obstruct Soviet aid to Vietnam.

In a talk with the American journalist Edgar Snow in 1965, Mao Tse-tung said that the Chinese would fight only if the United States attacked China; he resolutely rejected the prospects of cooperation with the Soviet Union in aiding the fighting people of Vietnam. Three weeks before that, American aircraft had begun massive bombing raids on North Vietnamese territory. If agreement had been reached on unity of action at that time, at least on the question of aiding Vietnam, the war in Indochina would not have been escalated. This can be stated with absolute certainty. The secret documents of the Pentagon made public by the American press prove conclusively that the United States Administration began its aggression in Indochina capitalising on the splitting activity of the Peking leadership. Apparently, the Chinese leaders intend to continue to pursue this course.

Each step by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to consolidate socialism, step up the liberation struggle throughout the world and thwart the aggressive actions of imperialism has invariably encountered the opposition of the Chinese leadership. This was the case during the Caribbean crisis, the Israeli aggression in June 1967 and the events in Czechoslovakia, when counter-revolution was prevented from overthrowing the socialist regime.

On the other hand, there may be people who believe in President Nixon's professed changes in United States foreign policy. However, even the most reactionary press in the United States calls President Nixon's forthcoming visit to Peking a foreign policy act prompted by selfish aims and anti-communist interests. The reac-

tionary circles all over the world consider these contacts to be tied in with plans to undermine the unity of the anti-imperialist forces and weaken the positions of world socialism.

This is confirmed by facts. The United States continues to pursue its aggressive policy in Vietnam and to spread it to Laos and Cambodia. It does not respond to the proposals of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and again and again has replaced its representative at the Paris talks, etc. The United States continues to support the Israeli aggressor. This is US policy with regard to centres of military tension. US efforts to thwart a détente in Europe and its policy of aggression and support given to reactionary coups and anti-popular regimes in Latin American countries pursue the same purpose.

At the same time President Nixon has other things in mind. He wants the Republicans to remain in power after next year's presidential elections. He also wants to cover up the setbacks sustained in Vietnam, and to distract attention from tremendous internal difficulties which culminated in the dollar crisis.

The Chinese leaders hold forth on the struggle "against the monopoly of the two superpowers" and pose as defenders of medium-sized and small nations. However, facts testify to the contrary.

The American policy of "bridge-building" and Peking's "differentiated" policy and its flirting with American imperialism have the same basic purpose: to undermine the might of the socialist camp, deepen the rift among the democratic, anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces and retard the world-wide liberation process.

Pravda, September 18, 1971

Maoists Expose Themselves

Article from Die Wahrheit

The newspaper *Die Wahrheit* published an article early in December entitled "UNO and Maoism." It noted, among other things, that the Chinese People's Republic's admission to the United Nations was the result of consistent efforts of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries, and all anti-imperialist forces. In view of this, the paper remarked, the line pursued by the chief Chinese delegate was a grave disappointment. The Chinese delegation uses this world forum for bitter attacks on the Soviet foreign policy and for splitting the anti-imperialist movement. In doing so the Chinese delegation stops at nothing.

The chief Chinese delegate did not hesitate to use slogans borrowed from the arsenal of the bourgeois Springer press in his attacks against the Soviet Union, the leading force of the world socialist system. This shows that Maoism is an instrument in the hands of the bourgeoisie in combatting the revolutionary workers' movement, the national liberation movements and the anti-imperialist struggle.

Maoism, the article emphasises, has once again exposed itself, this time before the United Nations forum, as a pseudo-revolutionary, anti-Soviet and anti-Marxist ideology and policy.

Pravda, December 3, 1971

QUESTIONS
OF
THEORY

The Dialectics of the International and the National in the Revolutionary Process Today

Y. KRASIN

The Historical Principle in the Approach to Proletarian Internationalism

Proletarian internationalism is a deep and many-sided concept. It is based on community of the vital interests of the working class of all countries and nationalities.

Internationalism permeates all aspects of the social being and social consciousness of the proletariat. It can be seen in psychology, politics, ideology and morality. The birth and development of proletarian internationalism are inseparable from the birth and development of the working class itself, from the process by which it evolves from a "class in itself" into a "class for itself."

As the revolutionary process broadens and deepens, the principles of internationalism are enriched, their sphere of application widens and their content is constantly reinforced with historical experience.

One of the main lines along which proletarian internationalism develops is that of practical solidarity actions by the working class of various countries. In the early stages of the workers' movement such actions did not go beyond the confines of particular industrial enterprises, where the common conditions of life and work united workers of different nationalities, placing them in opposition to their capitalist employer. As the working class began to organise according to trades there was greater scope for joint action and a basis for expressions of sympathy with the struggle of workers in the same or allied trades in other countries. From here it was only a step to direct support of that struggle by open expressions of solidarity and financial aid to the strikers.

As antagonism between labour and capital grew more acute and the more advanced and politically conscious section of the workers realised that the interests of the two were diametrically opposed, conditions arose for international political action by the work-

ing class. An outstanding landmark on the road to this was the emergence of the political party of the proletariat which, as Marx and Engels pointed out, in the course of the struggle waged by the proletarians of different nations singles out and defends "the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality." * With the advent of the party, proletarian internationalism becomes a political principle of the revolutionary working class movement. Internationalism is elevated to the level of a class policy, becoming one with the theory, strategy and practice of the socialist revolution. This quality which internationalism acquired in the course of the activity of the revolutionary proletarian party of a new type created by Lenin, found its expression and was further developed within the framework of the world communist movement. Internationalism and commitment to revolution—these are two sides of the class policy of the proletariat aimed at transforming the world along socialist lines.

The victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia was a victory for proletarian internationalism. The first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat developed into a base for world revolution, a weapon for proletarian internationalism, which became a guiding principle of Soviet state policy. This principle was implemented in the practical solution of that all-important revolutionary task—the building of socialism, and in the international support given by the victorious proletariat of one country to the revolutionary forces in the capitalist part of the world.

The new revolutionary upsurge after the Second World War led to a further development of proletarian internationalism. With the emergence of the world system of socialism, proletarian internationalism became a principle of inter-state relations within the socialist community of nations, a principle of the political and military alliance of equal, sovereign socialist states. It provides the basis for developing cultural and ideological relations between fraternal countries, increasing economic cooperation and laying the foundation for socialist integration.

Proletarian internationalism has been enriched by new features—those characterising the relations of socialist countries with independent states which have shaken off the chains of colonial bondage. The aid and support—economic, political, cultural and military—given by the socialist countries to the newly-independent states are an expression of the internationalist alliance between the world working class and the national liberation movement.

The second line of development of proletarian internationalism relates to the class consciousness of the proletariat. Each important stage in the development of proletarian internationalism in practice requires and involves a shift in the political thinking of the proletariat and at the same time provides a basis for the further development of the internationalist content of working class ideology.

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* K. Marx and F. Engels. *Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 120.

The first important advance in the formation of the internationalist consciousness of the proletariat is the transition from an understanding of the community of class interests of workers of different nations in the emotional and psychological sense to an understanding of the meaning of class solidarity on the level of political slogans and programmes. This shift is an integral part of the formation of socialist consciousness as a result of vigorous activity of the political party of the working class, the overcoming of nationalist prejudices assiduously cultivated by bourgeois propaganda and the bourgeois way of life, and an uncompromising struggle against bourgeois ideology and revisionist tendencies. The reformist compromise approach is directed to a search for supposedly common national interests of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. This approach is thus inevitably limited, and leads eventually to a form of nationalism. The revolutionary approach, by contrast, is essentially a class approach incorporating international working class solidarity and, in consequence, organically united with internationalism. This combination of internationalism and commitment to revolution is inherent in Leninism, the victory of which over reformism and social chauvinism and on this basis the appearance of the communist movement heralded the beginning of a new stage in the development of the internationalist consciousness of the working class.

All subsequent major landmarks in the history of the world liberation movement were invariably accompanied by advances in the internationalist consciousness of the working class. The emergence of the world system of socialism brought to the fore the question of the working class of each socialist country realising not only that it belonged to a particular nation but also to the international community as a system. This advance in working class consciousness is achieved in the course of overcoming contradictions, of fighting against nationalist views and prejudices which at times take dangerous forms of isolationism and chauvinistic hegemonism.

The third line of development of proletarian internationalism is seen in the fact that its social sphere of influence is expanding considerably. To begin with, proletarian internationalism was a principle in the ideology and practice of the working class alone. Later, in the era of imperialism, the oppressed masses in the colonial countries were drawn into its orbit. At the present time, when the struggle against the monopolies, the main weight of which is borne by the working class, is extending to growing numbers of peasants, petty-bourgeois elements, scientists, technologists and office workers, these social sections are gaining an increasing insight into some of the principles of proletarian internationalism and from their own experience are beginning to see the need for closer cooperation with the working class and the world system of socialism.

Speaking at the 24th Congress of the CPSU, Jorge del Prado, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Peruvian Communist Party, pointed out that the mighty tide of liberation movements

in Latin American countries had "altered substantially the outlook of a considerable part of the military, including command personnel." A sign of this alteration is the fact that part of the military have been influenced by internationalist ideas and are coming to understand the link between true patriotism and internationalism, and the need for resolute struggle against imperialism and for international solidarity of all anti-imperialist forces.

The principles of internationalism, of course, win acceptance among non-proletarian sections of society in the process of the fight against contradictions, in bitter struggle between internationalist ideas and nationalism, which is deep seated in the minds and psychological make-up of a considerable part of these social classes and groups.

In the era of imperialism the slogan "Workers of the world, unite" was, as we know, expanded by Lenin to read: "Workers of all countries and all oppressed peoples, unite!" In our own day the world communist movement has made specific the meaning of this appeal: *"Peoples of the socialist countries, workers, democratic forces in the capitalist countries, newly-liberated peoples and those who are oppressed, unite in a common struggle against imperialism for peace, national liberation, social progress, democracy and socialism!"* *

A direct result of the expansion of the sphere of proletarian internationalism is the more intensive development of ties between the communist parties and revolutionary-democratic parties in areas of national liberation movements. Revolutionary democrats are playing an increasingly active role in the struggle against imperialism and many revolutionary democratic parties are proclaiming socialism as their goal. Presenting the main report of the CC of the CPSU to the delegates of the 24th Congress of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev pointed out: "We are sure that cooperation between such parties and the communist parties, including those in their own countries, fully meets the interests of the anti-imperialist movement, the strengthening of national independence and the cause of social progress."

The fourth line of development of proletarian internationalism manifests itself in the improvement of the standards and norms governing the relations among working-class parties of different countries. This line can be clearly followed throughout the history of the communist movement. Having originated as a centralised international organisation in which individual affiliated parties had the status of section, the communist movement gradually evolved more flexible forms of inter-relationship and organisational unity.

The statement of the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in 1960 formulated the norms and standards of

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* *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties. Moscow 1969.* Prague, 1969, p. 39.

inter-party relations which corresponded to the contemporary situation. These envisage the independence and equality of all Marxist-Leninist parties, their responsibility to the working class and all working people of their own countries, and at the same time international solidarity, responsibility to the world working class and communist movement, mutual support and assistance in relations among fraternal parties and constant concern for the unity of the international communist movement.

Soon after the 1960 Meeting practical experience showed that the development of democratic norms of inter-party relations gave rise to a need for more effective forms of strengthening the international solidarity of Communists. There was a need for forms of international relations between parties based on the voluntary principle. This found expression in the document put out by the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in 1969 which said: "As there is no leading centre of the international communist movement, voluntary coordination of the actions of parties in order effectively to carry out the tasks before them acquires increased importance." * The document singles out such forms of international communist relations as joint solidarity actions, development of contacts between parties and collective analysis of contemporary life. It is to be expected that practical activity will continue to create a need for further development of the many and varied forms of international relations within the communist movement.

The Criteria of Internationalism

As proletarian internationalism develops, its objective criteria grow more complex. It is a matter of finding real points of orientation enabling the working class and the Marxist-Leninist parties to work out a policy of solidarity action in the struggle for common goals. The objective criteria of internationalism are determined by the laws governing the world revolutionary process, by the alignment of forces in the international scene and by the position of each revolutionary detachment within the common front of these forces.

Because of the uneven development of the world revolutionary process, and a number of other historical factors, different detachments do not enjoy the same objective possibilities for revolutionary action. Marx and Engels noted that at different periods the working class of different countries may move up to the front line in the fulfilment of a common international task. By setting out the arguments for the conclusion that it was possible for the socialist revolution to triumph in one country, taken separately, Lenin developed this idea

* Ibid., pp. 36-37.

further. It followed from his conclusion it was the internationalist duty of the working class of the country which had the possibility to do so to display revolutionary initiative. By virtue of internationalism the working class of such a country is duty bound to tackle high priority tasks immediately, without waiting for similar opportunities to arise everywhere. Clearly, in this event such a detachment of the working-class movement objectively moves into the vanguard, and support for it from all the other detachments acquires special importance and is a criterion of internationalism. When, following the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin and the Comintern advanced the defence of the world's first Socialist Republic as the main criterion of internationalism, they proceeded from the fact that Soviet Russia had become the centre of the world revolutionary process, an example both to the workers' movement in industrialised capitalist countries and to the national liberation movements of the oppressed peoples.

The Soviet Union was "a giant laboratory for use in the building of the new socialist society." * The USSR was the highest achievement of the international working class and of all revolutionary forces, and became a base for the world socialist revolution.

With the present scope of the world revolutionary process, and the variety of forces and tasks involved, it is necessary, in defining the objective criteria of proletarian internationalism, to take full account of the interests of all detachments participating in the struggle against imperialism. This, however, does not mean simply ascertaining a few arithmetical means. In the dynamic pattern of the revolutionary forces active in the world all sectors of the class struggle are closely linked and interdependent. But the success of the world liberation movement depends primarily on the world system of socialism, on the stability of its positions. This is the objective situation.

Attempts to ignore the existing alignment of forces in the modern world lead to subjectivism, which is responsible for the arbitrary revision of the criteria of proletarian internationalism and for the equally arbitrary concepts of "internationalism of a new type." These concepts virtually deny that the revolutionary forces in the modern world are interconnected and instead put the stress on the "independent and parallel development of revolutionary initiative." This is how the revisionist Manifesto group, expelled from the Italian Communist Party, formulates this "new internationalism." It could more aptly be called a theory of disuniting the revolutionary forces since this is exactly what the splitting activity of leftist elements amounts to. The theorists from the Manifesto group frankly admit that the "constant risk of defeat" is inherent in their strategy.

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* D. Manuilsky. *Summing Up the Results of Socialist Construction in the USSR*, M., 1935, p. 39 (Russian Edition).

So this so-called new internationalism is nothing more than adventurism, which runs counter to the principle that the activities of the revolutionary forces in struggle against their common enemy—imperialism—are interdependent.

At the present time the fact that there are increased opportunities and forms for the exercise of revolutionary initiative by various detachments of the national liberation movement is being used by the revisionists in their attempts to set these detachments in opposition to the world system of socialism and the Soviet Union, its main force. In some cases areas of national liberation movements are proclaimed the centre of world socialist revolution. This is the essence of the concept put forward by Chinese theorists of surrounding "the world city" with "the world village." This means a revision of the fundamental idea of Lenin's theory of socialist revolution, that of the proletarian hegemony in the revolutionary process. The centre of the struggle for socialism is arbitrarily transferred to parts of the world which have neither the material nor the social prerequisites for carrying out socialist tasks. In these countries socialism can be achieved only after a number of transition stages, and on the strict condition that there is a strengthening of the alliance with the international proletariat, above all with the world system of socialism, as its highest achievement.

Other revisionists lay accent on the Western countries, alleging, like Petkoff, recently expelled from the Communist Party of Venezuela, that these alone can provide an "advanced socialist reference point." This chauvinistic, Eurocentric point of view is put forward in the works of Roger Garaudy who ignores the achievements of real socialism, ascribing to it an "inferiority complex" of his own devising, and assigns to the Western countries the mission of "saving" socialism.

In both cases real socialism is, one might say, left out of account, both groups of revisionists ignore the universal validity and relevance of the laws governing the emergency of real socialism while important acts of the socialist countries in home and foreign policy are at times presented as an obstacle to the successful development of the revolutionary movement in the non-socialist part of the world.

The revisionist reassessment of the criteria of proletarian internationalism is based on a distortion of the overall picture of the world revolutionary process and the way in which it develops. The new ways and forms of struggle, the new approaches to the solution of the revolutionary tasks that have now opened up in a number of non-socialist countries have become possible thanks to the victories of socialism, thanks to its increased influence and prestige and its enhanced economic might. It is these factors that determine the alignment of forces on the world scene and create a favourable situation for the struggle of all revolutionary detachments. The world socialist system, and above all the Soviet Union, is the main bulwark of all anti-imperialist forces. Therefore attacks on real socialism, on the

USSR, have in effect the aim of undermining the foundations of the world revolutionary process. These attacks are directed against all detachments active in that process. At the present time anti-Soviet activity is a weapon directed not only against the Soviet Union and the CPSU but also against all revolutionary forces. As the 24th Congress of the CPSU, representatives of the communist and revolutionary democratic parties rightly observed that anti-Soviet activity was a crime against the working class and the national liberation movement.

In the context of contemporary development the attitude to the world socialist system, of which the Soviet Union is the material and intellectual centre, the attitude to the defence and support of real socialism becomes the chief criterion of proletarian internationalism.

When the Soviet Union, with the fraternal socialist countries, came to the help of the Czechoslovak people in repelling the attempts by imperialism and counter-revolution to tear Czechoslovakia away from the socialist community, they demonstrated their fidelity to the principles of proletarian internationalism. This point is stressed in the document "The Lessons of Crisis Development," which was adopted by a plenary session of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. In the words of the document, "this internationalist act, apart from saving thousands of lives, has secured internal and external conditions for normal work in peace, has fortified the Western frontiers of the socialist camp and dashed the hopes of imperialist circles for a revision of the results of the Second World War."

An assessment of the vicissitudes of the struggle between socialism and capitalism from positions of narrow national or regional interests, like leftist attempts to launch an assault against imperialism on peripheral sectors only, away from the main forces, is tantamount to a departure from the main criterion of true proletarian internationalism. In defending real socialism, the interests of the working class, of Communists and revolutionary forces everywhere are closely interwoven.

In view of the broadening of the composition of the revolutionary forces today, the increased complexity of their inter-relationships, and the growing share of the national tasks facing each detachment of the wokring class, a higher level of coordinated action and the assimilation on an international scale of the varied experience of all detachments are required. Although in tackling these tasks differences of opinion do arise, the ideas that unite the vanguard of the working class of all countries finally prevail. This provides a basis for strengthening international solidarity of the revolutionary forces, for a further development of the principles and forms of proletarian internationalism. Progress in this direction is largely dependent on the correct solution of the problem of the relationship between the international and the national elements in the class struggle waged by the proletariat.

Unity of the International and the National

The working class of any country is not only a detachment of the international working class. The relative independence of a nation's economic, political and cultural life inevitably leads to the struggle of the working class of that nation proceeding on national soil. Internationalism in this case is interpreted from the point of view of national conditions. Hence Lenin's call "to seek out, investigate, predict, and grasp that which is nationally specific and nationally distinctive, in the *concrete manner* in which each country should tackle a *single* international task." * This instruction of Lenin's with remarkable aptness and depth reflects the dialectical unity of the international and national aspects in the proletariat's class struggle. Any rupture of this unity leads to a weakening and subsequent death of proletarian internationalism.

This is clearly seen from Kautsky's theory, which invokes national reality and postpones the internationalism of proletarian revolutionary action until the epoch of "ultra-imperialism," which according to Kautsky will iron out national contrasts and differences. He wrote: "An alliance of states and not a state of nationalities or a colonial empire is that form of large empires which capitalism needs in order to achieve the last and highest stage in its development where the proletariat will accomplish its ultimate objective." **

Kautsky viewed internationalism as something outside the national. Lenin quickly saw this and condemned the apologist essence of the Kautsky theory, which, he pointed out, "boils down, and can **only** boil down, to the following: Kautsky is exploiting the *hope* for a *new* peaceful era of capitalism so as to justify the adhesion of the opportunists and the official social-democratic parties to the bourgeoisie, and their rejection of revolutionary, i. e., proletarian, tactics in the *present stormy era,* this despite the solemn declarations of the Basle resolution!" ***

It can also be clearly seen from the views of the leftist doctrinaires who attempted to interpret internationalism as a negation of the national. It was from this standpoint that the Bukharin, Pyatakov and Bosh group opposed Lenin during the First World War. Pyatakov saw international solidarity as "the united action of the proletariat of all countries which destroys the borders of bourgeois states, removes frontier posts and smashes national community, replacing it with class community." **** In pouring contempt on the national and in proclaiming national "indifferentism" the "left"-wing doctrinaires divorced proletarian internationalism from reality. While paying lip

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* V. Lenin. *Coll. Works,* Vol. 31, p. 92.

** K. Kautsky. *The National State, the Imperialist State, and the Union of States,* M., 1917, p. 87 (Russ. Ed.).

*** V. Lenin. *Coll. Works,* Vol. 21, p. 225.

**** Central Party Archives. Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Vol. 28, List 5, File 29622, p. 22.

service to "pure internationalism," in practice they emasculated it of politics, thereby turning it into a utopian phantasy divorced not only from national but also from class soil. As Lenin put it, that amounted to "...ignoring of the political struggle now, at present, immediately, and at all times".* Lenin countered the sterile abstractions of the doctrinaires with a new methodological precept: proletarian internationalism in the era of imperialism calls for the fullest possible utilisation of every opportunity for revolutionary action arising in each country.

This problem acquired particular urgency after the October Socialist Revolution when the relative independence of national detachments in the revolutionary process was clearly felt in practical terms. In his polemics with the Trotskyites and "left Communists" over the Brest-Litovsk Treaty Lenin vigorously criticised the notorious concept of "pure internationalism."

It would be useful to examine these polemics from a methodological angle. The opponents of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty appealed to internationalism. Bukharin, for one, speaking at a meeting of the Central Committee, said: "We must view the Socialist Republic from the point of view of internationalism." Uritsky reproached Lenin for "viewing the Treaty from the standpoint of Russia and not from the standpoint of the international situation."** The "internationalism" of the "left Communists" ignored not only the specific conditions prevailing in individual countries but also the uneven character of the development of the social revolution of the proletariat. In words they banked on a world revolution as a supra-national process, whereas such a position in fact meant simultaneously the abandonment of social revolution on a national scale and the abandonment of world revolution. More, this position ignored the decisive importance to the international working class as a whole of the preservation and consolidation of the first bridgehead gained by real socialism. From a political point of view the approach of the "left" was a typical example of petty-bourgeois adventurism.

Now what was Lenin's position in this debate? Lenin put the principle of proletarian internationalism in the context of the world revolutionary process as it was at the time and emphasised the dialectics of the external and internal aspects of the world socialist revolution. In each country this revolution developed on the basis of internal conditions. The transition from the national to the international was a dialectical process since the internal conditions in different countries varied widely. It was wrong to build a policy on the assumption that rates of development of internal processes would coincide. Lenin explained: "We don't know how long it will take for the socialist revolution to break out in the other countries—it may

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* V. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 23, p. 16.

** *The Seventh Extraordinary Congress of the RCP (B), Minutes*, M., 1962, p. 243 (Russ. Ed.).

take a long time." * The identification of the external and internal aspects of the revolutionary process opened up the way for the anti-Marxist concept of the export of revolution. The "left" doctrinaires agitated for the "stimulation" of world revolution and advocated the right to "red intervention." Lenin by contrast, carefully distinguished between the internal and external aspects of socialist revolution and raised the problem of finding complex intermediary forms of interaction for the revolutionary workers' movements in different countries. Lenin's approach was oriented towards marshalling of internal resources in a country where revolution was victorious, towards rallying around the working class of the masses to form a single alliance capable of becoming a bulwark and the motive force behind socialist changes. In this fashion Lenin linked internationalist policy with the solution of the national problems facing revolution.

Lenin demolished the pseudo-internationalist castles in the air of the revolutionary phrase-mongers and put internationalist policy onto the solid ground of reality, in the midst of a bitter class struggle against formidable difficulties. He wrote: "We must not turn into an empty phrase the great slogan 'We bank on the victory of socialism in Europe.' It is a true slogan if we have in mind the long and difficult path to the full victory of socialism. It is an indisputable philosophic-historical truth in respect of the entire 'era of the socialist revolution.' But any abstract truth becomes an empty phrase if it is applied to *any* concrete situation." ** In this statement Lenin summed up the debate with the "left" doctrinaires. There is no internationalism "in general", outside a concrete historical situation, outside the concrete struggle of the working class of each country and outside the unity of the international and national tasks facing the revolutionary workers' movement.

Today the problem of coordinating the international and class interests of the proletariat with the national interests and the actual national environment is becoming ever more pressing. This is facilitated by the constantly deepening class antagonisms within capitalist society. By exploiting and subjugating various sections of society capital sets itself against the nation. The anti-monopoly coalition increasingly assumes the features of an alliance of all the vital forces of the nation. Whereas in the early stages of capitalism the bourgeoisie was to a certain extent a champion of the national interests, today the working class, which occupies key positions in the anti-monopoly struggle, by virtue of its objective position assumes the role of leader in the nation-wide movement against the power of the monopolies.

Mindful of Lenin's behests, the international communist movement has been successfully pursuing the line of rooting internationalism in national soil. In this connection the Yugoslav sociologist

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* V. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 26, p. 493.
** V. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 27. p. 65.

M. Marković is in error in maintaining that the last 40-50 years have seen "an alientation of internationalism" in the theory and practice of the international communist movement. Marković writes: "In the context of prevailing theory and practice, internationalism is established as the highest sphere of common class and supra-national interests outside and above the sphere of the national interests of the working class." *

The international is inseparable from the national but in this dialectical unity there is a dominant aspect which expresses the common class interests and aims of the workers of all nations and countries. If one is a true internationalist, Lenin stressed, "one must *not* think only of one's own nation, but place *above* it the interests of all nations, their common liberty and equality." ..."He must fight *against* small-nation narrow-mindedness, seclusion and isolation, consider the whole and the general, subordinate the particular to the general interest." **

Awareness of the international community of interests and aims of the working class and all working people does not arise spontaneously from a movement restricted within national borders. If internationalist consciousness is to develop, it is necessary to go beyond the national confines, which means vigorous ideological and educational work by the Marxist-Leninist party and the introduction of theory into the mass movement. For an internationalist outlook a scientific and theoretical approach is essential. Only with a grasp of theory relating to international experience is it possible to comprehend the national experience and see it as part of the world revolutionary process.

Internationalism imposes on the working class of each country, on its revolutionary vanguard, the duty to subordinate national interests to class interests. Exposing opportunist and philistine pacifist vulgarisations of the idea and policy of internationalism Lenin wrote: "Petty-bourgeois nationalism proclaims as internationalism the mere recognition of the equality of nations, and nothing more. Quite apart from the fact that this recognition is purely verbal, petty-bourgeois nationalism preserves national self-interest intact, whereas proletarian internationalism demands... that the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country should be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a world-wide scale." *** In the long run this is the only way towards a radical solution of the national task in the interests of the vast majority of the nation.

In imposing this duty on each national detachment of the working class movement, internationalism, however, is not acting as an external force. Speaking at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969, Gus Hall, General Secretary of the

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* *Socialist Thought and Practice*. Belgrade. No. 26, Jan-March 1970, p. 57.
** V. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 22, p. 347.
*** V. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 31, p. 148.

Communist Party of the USA, said, "We do not view internationalism as a burden, a concession, or a cross to bear. . . . It is a basic ingredient that adds indispensable, revolutionary content to the class struggle".* The international and the national are two sides of the class struggle of the proletariat. Their unity finds expression in the correct combination of the basic aims of the class struggle of the proletariat, which are held in common, and the means of achieving them, which are most suitable in the country and the period in question.

The limitation of aims and means in politics is relative and conditional. The winning of political power by the working class is the aim of the political struggle. At the same time power is a means for carrying out the tasks of socialist revolution. It would therefore be wrong to associate internationalism exclusively with the ultimate objectives of the movement. Internationalism also pervades the means of proletarian struggle. For all the rich variety and specific character of the methods of the revolutionary activity of the working class and Marxist-Leninist parties in different countries, there are a number of common and significant features which are not determined by specific national or historical conditions but are due to the nature of the proletariat's international aims, to the common laws governing the revolutionary movement. Hence the importance of making a careful study of international experience not only from the standpoint of the aims of the struggle but from the aspect of practical policy, of the right choice and skilful use of means and methods that have been tested in the revolutionary struggle and proved correct.

The unity of the international and the national poses the problem of coordinating working class forces on a world scale. This is not an easy problem. At a particular historical juncture the tactical interests of struggle in one country may temporarily be at variance with the overall requirements of the class struggle on a world scale. Such cases may serve as a yardstick for determining the internationalist maturity of revolutionary forces, of their readiness to accept temporary tactical setbacks for the sake of the common class interests of the world proletariat, for the sake of strategic success which will before long have its effect on the national situation.

International solidarity of the national detachments of the working class rules out a consumer approach to internationalism. Speaking at the Moscow Meeting of 1969, Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay, rightly criticised those revolutionaries who assess their relations with the CPSU on the basis of the following utilitarian standard: "They take credit for the successes deriving from the historic transformations in the socialist countries, while the inevitable consequences of the class struggle in the world arena and the needs arising from the defence of the socialist system, which are also prerequisites of the development of the world revolutionary process, they regard as ob-

* *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, p. 426.

stacles to their own successes. It is hard to believe that assessments of this kind conform to proletarian internationalism, and it is still harder to believe that they guarantee the conversion of one or another party into a genuinely national political force." *

Unity of the International Communist Movement and the Independence of Parties

The principles of independence and equality among fraternal parties have become firmly established within the communist movement. This is fully in line with the diversity of conditions and experience of struggle gained by the different parties, and with the objective differences in their positions in the common front of the movement, and conforms to their desire to win political leadership of all the revolutionary and democratic forces in their own countries. At the same time, in view of the objective dialectics of the international and the national features of the struggle, the principles of independence and equality have to be viewed from the angle of proletarian internationalism and not in opposition to it. The document issued by the Moscow Meeting of 1969 points out: "The national and international responsibilities of each communist and workers' party are indivisible. Marxist-Leninists are both patriots and internationalists; they reject both national narrow-mindedness and the negation or underestimation of national interests, and the striving for hegemony." ** This accurate and politically balanced formulation sets out the only correct approach to assessing the degree of independence of each communist party within the framework of proletarian internationalism.

The upsurge of national self-awareness of peoples in the modern world and the growth of nationalist sentiments as a by-product sometimes give rise to the temptation to win key positions within the country by the line of least resistance. This is the line of gaining popularity by emphasising the national independence of a party to the detriment of the class approach and the principles of solidarity with the world proletariat, the socialist system and the other fraternal parties. Here national independence is opposed to class independence, which leads to a departure from proletarian internationalism and eventually to subordination to bourgeois nationalism. Illusory independence results in ideological and political dependence on the bourgeoisie.

Historical experience shows that a working class party cannot frame an independent policy unless it takes account of the common tasks of the communist movement, for upon the fulfilment of these tasks depends the future success of the Communists of all countries.

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* *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, p. 206.
** Ibid., p. 37.

A "neutral" position with respect to the common cause of the communist movement could mean only one thing–acceptance of the bourgeois nationalist interpretation of "independence," which has nothing to do with proletarian internationalism. Bourgeois propaganda naturally lavishes unstinting praise on those who seek to acquire political prestige by vociferous "criticism" of the parties bearing the main burden of responsibility for unity and for the fulfilment of the common tasks facing the international communist movement.

The loss of class independence inevitably undermines the national positions of a party since the political influence of each party depends in large measure on the general state of the communist movement. Attempts to retreat into the sphere of purely national tasks are tantamount to a desire to cut oneself off from the life-giving source of political strength represented by the whole of the communist movement.

The independence of individual parties carries with it a responsibility for advancing the common cause of world communism, for the unity of the Communists' ranks, and also the ability to follow a policy which takes account of the leading role played by the main centres of the world class struggle. These are the requirements for a truly independent class policy. As the individual parties become increasingly independent this international responsibility naturally grows. Recognition by each Marxist-Leninist party that it is an independent unit of the international movement, a part of that movement, is expressed in a sense of solidarity with the whole movement. Another aspect of the problem is international support from the whole of the movement for each of its constituent members. This principle assumes particular importance in relations among the countries making up the world socialist community. Imperialist attempts to wrest this or that unit from the community affect the vital interests of the whole of the community, the whole of the communist and workers' movement. It is the internationalist duty of the peoples of the socialist countries as a whole to come to the aid of the working class and people of a socialist country which is in jeopardy.

At the same time the common destiny and bonds of class brotherhood linking the countries of the socialist community make it incumbent upon each country to feel a sense of international responsibility in its internal and external policy, to base its actions on the interests of the whole, not only the part, and to consider not only its own needs but those of the whole of the socialist system. Relations between socialist countries are based on principles of real equality. Abandonment by a socialist country of its international obligations as a member of the socialist community inevitably violates the relations of equality in the community and weakens the solidarity of that country with the rest of the community.

It their attempts to weaken the unity of the world socialist system imperialist propagandists, opportunists and revisionists of various kinds oppose proletarian internationalism to the principles of

independence, sovereignty and equality of the socialist countries. To achieve their aim they have invented the theory of "limited sovereignty" and the theory of "two superpowers" which by mutual agreement and paying no attention to the other states are supposed to decide the future of the world. In reality, strict observance of the principles of independence, sovereignty, equality and non-interference in internal affairs coupled with the principle of solidarity and mutual assistance form an organic part of proletarian internationalism.

A one-sided interpretation of independence and efforts to present it as something in opposition to the international unity of Communists are a sign of the centrifugal tendencies in the world communist movement today. This is by no means accidental. The communist movement has been influenced by more complex social composition of the anti-imperialist forces, by the inclusion in the struggle of broad semi-proletarian and petty-bourgeois masses. The influx of these masses into many communist parties has increased the social heterogeneousness of the movement. A sign of the Communists' growing strength, the influx of the non-proletarian elements leads to greater possibilities of petty-bourgeois prejudices and weaknesses penetrating into the Communists' midst and heightens the danger of all manner of revisionist and nationalistic tendencies.

Lenin pointed out that the drawing of new recruits, of new sections of the working people into the workers' movement would inevitably be accompanied by vacillations in theory and practice, the repetition of old mistakes, a temporary retreat to outdated views and methods, etc. The working class movement of each country devotes a certain part of its energy, attention and time to the education of fresh recruits. The number of new members for the communist movement in the postwar period far exceeds anything in the past. Today the communist parties have to devote far more energy, attention and time to the education of these vast numbers of people than at any time in the past. All this creates formidable difficulties for the communist movement and leads to certain setbacks in the struggle against right-wing revisionism, petty-bourgeois radicalism and various brands of nationalism, the fight for a consistent internationalist class policy and loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The correct solution of the problem of the correlating international and national tasks is made more difficult by the substantial differences in the practical political experience gained by the different parties as a result of the diverse conditions in which they operate. Here it is possible to overestimate one's own experience in determining the common tasks of the communist movement. There is a danger of a narrow nationalistic approach to proletarian internationalism, of nationalist or isolationist tendencies.

These, then, are some of the objective reasons for the centrifugal tendencies in the communist movement. Anti-communist ideologists claim that these tendencies are inevitable and under the impact

of these the communist movement is experiencing a "polycentric decline." Richard Lowenthal, for example, says that the communist movement faces the inevitable choice "between pragmatic unity based on compromise and ideological struggle leading to schism". * Events, however, have given the lie to this false and pseudo-theoretical dilemma which our ideological enemies sought to impose upon us. The world communist movement is successfully overcoming difficulties, gradually forging a qualitatively new unity which suits the tasks facing it at the present juncture.

The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in 1969 was an important step towards this unity. The documents produced by the meeting set out the prerequisites for strengthening the communist movement and overcoming ideological differences. The parties that attended the meeting spoke of their loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and this provided a basis for overcoming divisions among the fraternal parties.

The 24th Congress of the CPSU was of great importance for strengthening the communist movement. The delegations from communist and workers' parties were unanimous in their determination to work steadily to this end, to struggle constantly to heighten its role in the anti-imperialist struggle and to secure increasingly stable ideological unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Speakers at the congress gave a resolute rebuff to the special ideological platform of the Chinese leadership, to revisionist concepts that had emerged within individual communist parties. It was clearly and categorically declared that political and ideological unities were closely linked.

Events show the unsoundness of a pragmatic approach to an understanding of communist unity which limits this unity to unity of concrete actions. Such unity would be one without a common theory, without a common world outlook and common methods for analysing and changing reality. It would have no theoretical foundation and therefore no truly internationalist basis. It would be without a strategy, for this can be worked out only on the basis of a general assessment of the period, of the balance of forces, and of trends of development. Finally, with unity of this kind even the joint actions of parties would sooner or later inevitably lose their effectiveness. Loyalty to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and devoted service to the interests of the people and the common cause of socialism constitute an essential condition for true political unity of communist and workers' parties, manifesting itself above all as unity in the fight against imperialism.

On the other hand, the demand that there must be complete identity of views on all ideological questions as a precondition for united action against imperialism would mean acceptance of the dogmatic sectarian formula "all or nothing" in tackling the problems facing the communist movement. The advocates of this formula, while pay-

* R. Lowenthal. *World Communism*, N. Y., 1964, p. 256.

ing lip-service to the need for organic unity in effect encourage splitting activities since they bar the way to overcoming ideological differences through joint activity against imperialism. And from this point of view ideological unity itself emerges as a dogmatic identity of views which precludes any progress of thought.

In the world communist movement common theoretical and political assessments are arrived at in the process of the collective discussion of problems in a creative spirit, and of united action in the struggle for common goals. The waging of this struggle, especially during crises which demand the adoption of clear-cut class positions, reveals the relative merits of different opinions and positions, exposes one-sided opinions and various opportunist, nationalist and revisionist views, and unites the vanguard forces of the proletariat on the class platform of those who hold correct internationalist positions.

The problem of the correlating unity of the communist movement and unity of broad anti-imperialist forces is acquiring particular urgency nowadays. The experience of our time shows that the two kinds of unity are interdependent. Because of the class heterogeneousness of the anti-imperialist forces it is necessary first of all to strengthen their nucleus, the working class, and the Marxist-Leninist parties as its vanguard. Although proletarian internationalism has transcended the confines of the workers' movement proper, it is, in its deep-seated sources, connected with the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the activities of the Marxist-Leninist parties. At the present time internationalism opposes narrow sectarianism more than ever before, and because of this a class approach to it is especially necessary.

The communist movement is the living embodiment of the principles of proletarian internationalism. This movement is the exponent of a revolutionary and class approach to internationalism.

The justness of this approach was strikingly demonstrated at the 24th Congress of the CPSU which was attended not only by delegations from fraternal communist parties but by representatives of other anti-imperialist movements. L. I. Brezhnev in his concluding speech at the close of the congress said: "Hardly ever in history had such a representative forum of world revolutionary, liberation and progressive forces gathered."

Today one can see with particular clarity just how timely the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969 was. The meeting worked out a militant political platform of united action against imperialism. The main points of this platform have since received broad support and have become a factor in rallying mass anti-imperialist forces around the communist movement. The efforts of Communists and their vanguard role in the modern world are bearing appreciable fruit. All this imposes upon the communist movement even greater responsibility and requires an intensification of the struggle for unity of its ranks.

The fraternal parties have acknowledged that the CPSU stands in

the centre of the process of consolidation of Marxist-Leninist parties. All parties within the communist movement are equal and none can claim an exclusive position. However, in the words of Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party," *although we are equal, we have an unequal responsibility and burden.* For, measured by any standard, *the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people, which have equal rights with us and do not lay claim to more, bear an immeasurably greater responsibility than any of us.* Disinterestedly, acting in the spirit of internationalism, they have made, and are making, greater sacrifices than anyone else in the interests of communism, the freedom of the nations, for the prevention of a world war, for a happy future for mankind." * This theme was echoed by representatives of fraternal parties who spoke at the 24th Congress of the CPSU. After pointing out that the Leninist Party of the Soviet Union was the pioneer of social development and a living source of revolutionary thought and practice, Comrade Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, said in his speech at the congress: "This is the main reason why the CPSU occupies a leading position in the world workers' movement."

Today forms of international unity of the communist parties have been found that are in keeping with the contemporary world situation. The implementation of these forms calls for resolute struggle against right-wing and left-wing opportunism, against all kinds of nationalist manifestations. The growing solidarity of the revolutionary forces in the modern world has always struck terror in the camp of reaction. That is why reactionary forces have constantly banked upon nationalism as a tool in disuniting the revolutionary forces.

Loyalty to the Leninist principles of internationalism is a guarantee that imperialism's hopes of inciting national strife will be smashed and that the world workers' and communist movement will win fresh victories in the fight to establish socialism and communism all over the world.

Mirovaya ekonomika i mezhdunarodnyie otnosheniya,
No. 8, 1971

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* *International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties*, p. 322.

☐ **Meetings at the CPSU Central Committee.** On November 13, a meeting was held at the CPSU Central Committee with a delegation of the Communist Party of Chile which had arrived in Moscow to attend celebrations in connection with the 54th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The delegation consisted of comrades O. Millas and J. Cademartori, both members of the Political Commission of the Communist Party of Chile Central Committee.

The CPSU was represented by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade A. P. Kirilenko, Politbureau Member and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade M. A. Suslov, Politbureau Member and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Comrade B. N. Ponomarev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

In the conversation that took place the Chilean comrades spoke about the efforts of the government headed by President Allende to implement the programme of the Popular Unity coalition, and about the Chilean people's struggle for revolutionary changes.

Comrade L. I. Brezhnev spoke of the progress being made in plans for communist construction mapped out by the 24th CPSU Congress. He stressed that the CPSU would continue its consistent policy of promoting peace and security for the nations and supporting the forces fighting against imperialism, for strengthening national independence. The CPSU Central Committee delegation voiced wholehearted support for Chile's Popular Unity Government and its policy and wished it every success in securing national independence and social progress.

During the meeting, which proceeded in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality, the delegations exchanged views on extending ties between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Com-

munist Party of Chile. The delegation of the Communist Party of Chile invited the CPSU Central Committee to send a delegation to Chile to take part in celebrations marking the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of Chile. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Both delegations were in favour of promoting friendly relations and cooperation between the USSR and Chile.

E. I. Kuskov, Member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU and first deputy head of the international department of the CPSU Central Committee, also took part in the talk.

Pravda, November 15, 1971

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On November 5, 1971, B. N. Ponomarev, Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received Amilcar Cabral, General Secretary of the African Party for Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC).

During the meeting, Comrade Cabral spoke about the PAIGC-led armed national liberation struggle of the Guinean patriots against the Portuguese colonialists and the Party's political and administrative activity in the liberated area. The Portuguese ruling circles supported by the NATO imperialist powers, he said, stubbornly refuse to recognise the right of the people of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands to national sovereignty and political independence. In the present situation the PAIGC leadership feels that its primary task is to intensify in every way the military and political struggle for the country's liberation from the colonialists.

Speaking on behalf of the PAIGC leadership and all Guinean patriots, A. Cabral expressed profound gratitude for the comprehensive assistance given by the CPSU and the Soviet people to the Guinean people in their just struggle. He wished the CPSU and all working people of the Soviet Union further success in building a communist society.

B. N. Ponomarev spoke about the dedicated effort of the Soviet working people to implement the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress. He expressed solidarity with the courageous struggle of the patriots of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands for national and social emancipation, and said that the Soviet people would continue to help and support the PAIGC.

Both sides reaffirmed the desire to extend friendly ties between the CPSU and the PAIGC and promote solidarity and friendship between the Soviet people and the people of Guinea and Cape Verde Islands.

R. A. Ulyanovsky, deputy head of the international department of the CPSU Central Committee also took part in the talks.

Pravda, November 6, 1971

☐ **Polish United Workers' Party–French Communist Party Joint Communique.** In Warsaw, talks were held between the delegation of the Polish United Workers' Party, headed by the First Secretary of the PUWP Central Committee, E. Gierek, and the delegation of the French Communist Party, led by the Deputy General Secretary of the FCP, G. Marchais. At the close of the talks on November 7, a joint communique was issued.

The communique stated that the talks had demonstrated that both parties shared the same views on the problems discussed and sought to strengthen unity of the international communist and working-class movement in accordance with the principles and norms adopted at the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1969. It was pointed out that the changes in the European situation denoted the failure of the imperialist cold war policy and that it was primarily the consistent peace-loving policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist states that was helping to lessen tension, normalise relations and establish cooperation.

The communique assessed the treaties signed by the USSR and Poland with the Federal Republic of Germany and the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin as an important contribution towards improving the political climate in Europe.

Both parties considered it of the utmost importance for the above treaties to be ratified as quickly as possible. The communique dealt at length with the promotion of peace and cooperation in Europe and the convening of a European security conference.

The communique emphasised that the FCP and the PUWP would continue to work to cement the unity of the international communist movement. Isolationism and renunciation of joint action, as well as nationalism in all forms, anti-Soviet tendencies and right and "left" opportunism can only hamper the working-class and revolutionary movement, and make it easier for imperialism to carry on its subversive activities.

Pravda, November 8, 1971

☐ **CPSU Delegation in Austria.** A CPSU delegation led by S. G. Lapin, Member of the CPSU Central Committee and Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio, spent a week (November 4-11) in Austria as guests of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria.

The CPSU delegation attended a session held by the CPA to mark the 54th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The delegation learned what is being done by CPA organisations, met leaders of the Vienna party organisation and functionaries of the CPA district committee of Lower Austria, and travelled across the country.

At meetings in the CPA Central Committee there was discussion on questions pertaining to the international situation and European

security, the communist and working-class movement, and other matters of mutual interest. The CPA Central Committee was represented by the Chairman, Comrade F. Muhri, and members of the Politbureau of the Central Committee.

The meetings took place in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality. There was an identity of views on all the questions discussed.

The representatives of both Parties were gratified to note that the visit of the CPSU delegation contributed to the strengthening of the traditional fraternal ties between the CPSU and the CPA.

Pravda, November 12, 1971

□ **Communique on the Talks Between Delegations of Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic.** In Prague, talks were held between the party-and-government delegations of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the German Democratic Republic. The Czechoslovak delegation was led by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, G. Husak, and the GDR delegation was headed by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, E. Honecker.

The communique issued after the talks ended on November 12 stated that the meetings had taken place in an atmosphere of friendship and cordiality and there had been a complete identity of views on all matters discussed. The delegations discussed the progress being made in socialist construction in their countries and noted that ideological unity of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, based on the community of goals and tasks and on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, was a guarantee of further success. In this regard, the delegations highly assessed the contribution made by the 24th CPSU Congress to strengthening the world socialist system and the international communist movement.

Both delegations appreciated the significance of the comprehensive programme for intensifying and improving socialist economic integration and expressed the determination to continue efforts to cement unity among the socialist countries. It was stated that the peace programme advanced by the 24th CPSU Congress and the joint actions of the Warsaw Treaty countries were yielding positive results in the struggle for peace, security and cooperation in Europe and the world over, and creating favourable conditions for intensifying the general struggle of all peace-loving and democratic forces against imperialism and for peace, social progress and socialism. The two delegations felt the time had come to start practical all-round preparations for an all-European conference on security and cooperation.

The communique pointed out that it is impossible to create a re-

liable system of collective security in Europe without the participation of the GDR as an equal partner.

Both delegations reaffirmed their solidarity with the heroic struggle waged by the peoples of Indochina against imperialist aggression and with the Arab peoples' just struggle against the Israeli aggression.

In conclusion, it was stated that the foreign policy of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany is based on the sound foundation provided by the decisions of the International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in 1969.

Pravda, November 14, 1971

☐ **L. I. Brezhnev Receives Mohamed Siad Barre.** On November 18, L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received General Mohamed Siad Barre, President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Somali Democratic Republic.

The conversation, which proceeded in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, dealt with the development of Soviet-Somali relations and the current international situation. There was an exchange of views on matters related to the national liberation movement in Africa and unity of progressive forces in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism.

Pravda, November 19, 1971

☐ **Joint Declaration of the French and Italian Communist Parties.** A delegation of the Italian Communist Party met with a French Communist Party delegation in Paris on November 16 and 17. The Italian delegation was led by E. Berlinguer, Deputy General Secretary of the ICP, and the French delegation by G. Marchais, Deputy General Secretary of the FCP.

As stated in the joint declaration that was issued, the meeting took place in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship, sincerity and accord. Commenting on the new situation arising in Europe, the declaration noted that the possibility now exists of transforming Europe into an area of peaceful coexistence and cooperation.

Both parties regard an all-European conference on security and cooperation as a milestone on the road to establishing new relations on the continent. Multilateral preparations for the conference must be started immediately, without any new preliminary conditions or delay, in order for it to be held in 1972.

The ICP and FCP delegations welcome the idea of negotiations on the reduction of armed forces in Europe and gradual disarmament.

Both parties declare their intention to make an all-out effort to strengthen the movement of solidarity with Vietnam, Laos and Cam-

bodia whose peoples are defending their independence against US imperialism.

The ICP and FCP delegations are for a political settlement of the Middle East conflict in accordance with the UN resolution and in the interest of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine and all other peoples in the area.

The ICP and the FCP condemn all manifestations of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism as harmful to the interests of the revolutionary, democratic and national movement. Such manifestations lend themselves to splitting attempts and aggressive imperialist policies.

Both parties note a powerful upsurge in the social and democratic struggle and certain progress to achieve unity in the trade union movement. The obtaining situation requires joint efforts and concerted action by the communist parties of the European capitalist countries. The FCP and the ICP are determined to work to step up unity of action in the international communist movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian internationalism.

The declaration states that concerted action by all communist and workers' parties, by all socialist countries and all anti-imperialist forces is an earnest of fresh successes in the struggle against imperialism.

Pravda, November 19, 1971

□ **Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.** The plenary meeting of the MPRP Central Committee, which took place a few days ago, was addressed, on behalf of the Politbureau of the MPRP Central Committee, by Comrade Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and Chairman of the MPR Council of Ministers. His report was entitled: "Some Questions Relating to the Realisation of the Party's Foreign and Domestic Policies."

A fundamental concern of our Party, said Comrade Tsedenbal, has always been to strengthen the alliance of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union—the land of the October Revolution—and the CPSU, the great Party of Lenin.

In shaping its internationalist policy, the MPRP proceeds from the fact that the MPR's socialist-oriented progress is inseparably tied in with strengthening the entire socialist community and friendship and cooperation with Mongolia's true friend, the Soviet Union, which is the leading force of world socialism.

Our Party believes, the speaker continued, that it is the internationalist duty of every socialist country and every Marxist-Leninist party to defend socialism. To do so, we must wage an uncompromising struggle for greater unity and solidarity with the fraternal socialist countries and for cohesion of all revolutionary forces of today; we must uphold the purity of Marxism-Leninism against right and "left" opportunism.

The Party has always believed that the foremost duty of the Communists consists, together with consolidating relations of friendship and brotherhood with the Soviet Union, in resolutely countering attacks on the Soviet Union mounted by imperialists and their accomplices–opportunists of all stripes. Slander and attacks against the Soviet Union, the main champion of the gains of the socialist countries and the leading force of socialism, and attempts to sully its vanguard role in the anti-imperialist struggle are tantamount to direct attacks against Mongolia, against all true friends and allies of the land of Soviets. In this connection, mention should be made of the utterly fallacious and extremely pernicious slogan of struggle against the "two superpowers" which is being assiduously propagated by certain self-seekers, including some calling themselves Marxists. This slogan is reactionary in essence and signifies a departure from the class positions of the working class.

The speaker regarded the visits of Soviet party and government delegations to a number of countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and America as vivid examples of consistent effort of the CPSU and the Soviet state towards stable peace and cooperation among nations, towards greater unity of the socialist countries and further consolidation of the anti-imperialist forces in the struggle for social progress and international security.

Peace-loving forces in all countries highly regard the recent visit made by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to France. It has provided new prospects for promoting Soviet-French cooperation and normalising the situation in Europe. The results of the visit constitute a major contribution to the cause of peace and international security and are added proof of the vitality of the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The MPRP's consistent internationalism and loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism are reflected in its foreign policy activity and ideological work. Taking Marxist-Leninist positions, the MPRP and its Central Committee continue their efforts for closer, friendly cooperation with fraternal countries and parties.

The speaker dwelt at length on questions concerning the MPRP's domestic policy.

The plenary meeting unanimously approved the activity of the Politbureau of the MPRP Central Committee.

Pravda, November 30, 1971

☐ **E. Honecker Meets John Gollan.** The ADN press agency reports that on December 1, E. Honecker, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, met with John Gollan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, who was visiting the GDR as a guest of the SUPG Central Committee.

During the meeting, E. Honecker spoke about the progress made in carrying out the decisions of the 8th SUPG Congress for building an advanced socialist society in the GDR.

John Gollan spoke highly of the GDR's successes in socialist construction. He said the Communist Party of Great Britain was working to attain unity of action by the British working class and to establish an anti-imperialist front of struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

Pravda, December 2, 1971

□ **Conference of Sinologists.** A national conference on "Topical Tasks Facing Soviet Sinologists" was held in Moscow from November 29 to December 1. Sponsored by the Institute of the Far Eastern Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences, it was attended by sinologists of numerous scientific institutions and higher educational establishments, members of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, and other pertinent Soviet institutions.

There was discussion on a wide range of problems being tackled by Soviet sinologists in view of the decisions of the 24th CPSU Congress, and questions pertaining to the history, economy, foreign policy, science and culture, language and literature of China.

The keynote of the reports and discussions was the need for a profound, penetrating study of the diverse aspects of China's life and the rich cultural heritage of the fraternal Chinese people. Stress was also laid on the need to expose the anti-Marxist essence of the theory and practice of Maoism.

Pravda, December 2, 1971

□ **Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party.** An enlarged plenary meeting of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee was held under the chairmanship of Janos Kadar, First Secretary of the HSWP Central Committee.

The report on urgent international issues given by Z. Komocsin, Secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, was approved.

As stated in the published communique, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are displaying initiative and playing a very active role in the present international situation. The consistent peaceful policy of the socialist countries increasingly influences the development of international relations. The HSWP and Hungarian Government, guided by the principles of proletarian internationalism, are endeavouring to promote the common goals of the Warsaw Treaty and CMEA countries in the interests of the world socialist system, general progress and peace.

The Central Committee stated that it is in the interests of peace and security in Europe to ratify the treaties which the USSR and

Poland signed with the Federal Republic of Germany as quickly as possible and to implement the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin. The meeting noted the growing support for the socialist countries' proposal to call an all-European conference on security and cooperation which, it believes, could be convened in 1972.

The communique declared that the Hungarian People's Republic will continue to fulfil its internationalist duty by way of rendering effective political, diplomatic and military support to the peoples of Indochina fighting against US aggression.

The HSWP Central Committee holds that the real way to resolve the Middle East crisis is to implement the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, which accords with the interests of all the peoples inhabiting this area.

With regard to the East Pakistan situation, the HSWP Central Committee feels that conditions must be provided for permitting the East Pakistani refugees to return home, thus removing the threat of war in this part of the world.

The communique emphasises that the Central Committee is prepared to carry on extensive consultations with communist and workers' parties, and also with all other anti-imperialist parties and organisations seeking unity of action.

Pravda, December 3, 1971

☐ **Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Syria.** At the end of November, an enlarged plenary meeting of the Communist Party of Syria's Central Committee was held in Damascus, attended by representatives of many Syrian Party organisations.

The statement issued reported that the meeting discussed a number of important political, ideological and organisational questions and adopted resolutions on cementing party ranks on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The statement says that the plenary meeting decisions are designed to enhance the national and international role of the CPS which has close friendly ties with the world forces of freedom and progress led by the USSR.

The resolutions of the plenary meeting are aimed at continuing efforts to eliminate the consequences of the Israeli imperialist aggression and secure the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine.

Pravda, December 4, 1971

☐ **A Major Step Towards Uniting Iraq's Progressive Forces.** A few days ago the leading Iraqi newspapers published a statement of the Communist Party of Iraq evaluating the draft Charter of National

Action put forth by the ruling Arab Socialist Renaissance Party (Baath) for popular discussion.

The Communist Party of Iraq finds that the draft Charter has a clear-cut, anti-imperialist orientation and correctly defines the basic national tasks–struggle against imperialism, Israeli aggression and reaction, and peaceful democratic solution of the Kurdish problem by implementing the agreement of March 11, 1970. The draft Charter calls for further rapprochement with socialist countries, and intensification of progressive socio-economic changes with a view to creating the prerequisites for building a socialist society. It is stressed that capitalist way of development is inconceivable for Iraq. The Communist Party of Iraq regards the draft Charter as a suitable foundation for working out a militant programme of struggle for national independence and social progress.

The statement particularly notes the Baath initiative with regard to establishing a united front of progressive parties and patriotic forces of Iraq. The Communist Party believes that the creation of such a front, which is demanded by the people, is an urgent task of cardinal significance. The statement comments on the correctness of the stipulation in the draft Charter that the alliance of progressive forces must be based on intensified struggle against imperialism, zionism and reaction. The Communist Party also notes the significance of the stipulation that it is necessary to grant democratic freedoms to parties pursuing the same goals as those proclaimed in the Charter, and to the toiling masses and their organisations, and to adopt a permanent constitution and institute a National Assembly.

The Communist Party insists that there should be no discrimination against any sectors that would make up the national front. National forces and organisations joining this association must enjoy ideological and organisational independence in order to be able to attain the proclaimed goals. The Communist Party agrees with the conclusion in the draft Charter that individual contradictions between progressive forces inside the country should not obscure the main contradiction, between the progressive forces versus imperialism, zionism and reaction.

In conclusion, the Communist Party calls on all concerned, primarily the Baath party and the Kurdish Democratic Party, to begin consultations and debates on the problems of Iraq's development put forth in the draft Charter of national action.

Pravda, December 4, 1971

☐ **Chilean-Cuban Joint Communique.** A Chilean-Cuban joint communique was published in Santiago in connection with the official friendly visit of a Cuban government delegation to Chile. The Cuban delegation was led by Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and Prime Minister of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba.

The communique stated that during their meetings President Salvador Allende of Chile and Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba analysed the development of relations between the two countries and discussed international issues of mutual interest.

It was pointed out that the visit took place at a time when the balance of forces in the world is tilting markedly in favour of socialism, when the political and economic might of the socialist camp is continuing to grow while the imperialist world monetary system is undergoing a crisis, and when the national liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America is gaining momentum.

The visit is fresh evidence of the complete fiasco of US imperialist attempts to isolate Cuba, said the communique.

Premier Fidel Castro noted the progress made by the government and the people of Chile in carrying out the programme of social and economic transformations. Chile's successes, he remarked, demonstrate the revolutionary essence of the Chilean government and its programme.

President Allende, in turn, commented on the successes scored by the government and the people of Cuba in intensifying the revolutionary process.

Both sides welcomed the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin as a step toward universal peace; they reaffirmed their governments' support of the idea of an all-European conference on security and cooperation.

The two sides condemned US aggression against the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia and fully supported the seven-point peace programme advanced by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

President Allende and Premier Castro displayed readiness to extend and strengthen Chilean-Cuban relations.

Pravda, December 8, 1971

Social-Chauvinism in the Guise of Socialism

V. STEPANOV

Ever since scientific socialism was linked by Marxists with the revolutionary struggle of the world proletariat and began to win over vast numbers of working people throughout the world its opponents have been steadily attempting to distort and discredit socialist ideas, to adapt them to their own ends, using socialism to disguise the reactionary essence of their own ideology and policy. Lenin wrote in 1918: "The dialectics of history were such that the theoretical victory of Marxism compelled its enemies to *disguise themselves* as Marxists." * To win the confidence of working people in order to divert them from revolutionary struggle the pseudo-socialists are prepared to borrow from scientific socialism everything "including the struggle for reforms, the class struggle (without the proletarian dictatorship), the 'general' recognition of 'socialist ideals' and the substitution of a 'new order' for capitalism; they cast aside 'only' the living soul of Marxism, 'only' its revolutionary content." **

Among the political forces which have thus "identified themselves" with socialism, one of the most reactionary is zionism, which is represented in the world social-democratic camp by some of its most influential parties. Belonging to the Socialist International are such zionist organisations as the Israel Labour Party, the World Union of Zionist Socialists and the International Jewish Labour Bund which claims to be "an opponent of nationalism and zionism" but which in fact pursues a policy fully in keeping with the ideological precepts of zionism. The alliance of zionism—a movement that is nationalistic in form, bourgeois in social content and anti-communist in political orientation—with the Social-Democrats of the West stems from the fact that the right-wing leaders, who dominate the social-democratic movement, subscribe to national reformist positions and speak for the interests of monopoly capital. Added proof of this is the resolution passed at the last session of the Council of the Socialist International in May 1971 expressing full support for Israel in the Middle East conflict.

It was some time before the Zionists could see how they would benefit from jumping on the "socialist" bandwagon. At first, the Zionists fought tooth and nail against socialism. Theodor Herzl, one of the founding fathers and a fore-

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* V. Lenin, *Coll. Works*, Vol. 18, p. 584.
** Ibid., Vol. 21, p. 222.

most ideologist of the zionist organisation, wrote in 1895: "I shall never accept the conversion of Jews to socialism." Shortly after the foundation of the World Zionist Organisation in 1897, however, its leaders realised that the zionist ideas borrowed from Judaism and coupled with the nationalism of the Jewish bourgeoisie were far removed from the vital interests of the Jewish working people. The Jewish poor were interested in very different ideas, namely those of scientific socialism, which held out the prospect of liberating working people from every form of social and national oppression.

Well aware of the appeal socialism held for the Jewish workers, the zionist leaders at the beginning of the century tried hard to present themselves as "champions of socialism" and even went so far as to "equip" their ideology with Marxist ideas since, as H. M. Sachar, zionist historian, wrote, "Marxist socialism was at the time the main magnet for politically active Jews." In an attempt to "head off" the impact of Marxist ideas on Jewish workers who remained outside the revolutionary movement at the time, the Zionists appealed to their religious and nationalistic prejudices, dinning into their heads the idea of supposedly exclusive "Jewish," "zionist" socialism which denied the existence of class contradictions among the Jews. As S. Levenberg, a zionist theorist, put it, "merged with socialism zionism can become more attractive."

The true attitude of the Zionists to socialism was clearly demonstrated after the October Socialist Revolution in Russia. The Zionists were completely hostile to the revolution since they realised that it put all working people of Russia, Jews and non-Jews alike who had been liberated from national and class oppression by the October Revolution, on the road of joint struggle for a new society founded on the internationalist principles of brotherhood and equality of all nations and peoples.

The report endorsed by a conference of Russian Zionists meeting in secret session in Moscow in 1918 stressed: "Zionism is an alliance of the whole of Jewry, while socialism brings the struggle of one class against the other into zionist ranks... Socialism stands in the way of zionism. This being so zionism and socialism apart from being directly polarised are two mutually exclusive elements."

Secretly cursing socialism, zionist leaders in their public statements and policy documents were compelled to proclaim their "commitment" to socialism in order to avoid alienating themselves from the Jewish working people. The MAPAI (The Palestine Labour Party), the right-wing social-democratic party founded in 1929, also proclaimed its "commitment" to socialism. Since the establishment of the State of Israel this party has been in power forming coalition governments with other zionist and religious parties in Israel. In 1968 the MAPAI, the Ahdut Avoda (The Unity of Workers, the first zionist workers' party, founded during World War I and for long acting as the link between the right-wing and left-wing zionist parties) and the Rafi Party, which broke away from the MAPAI in 1965 to form an individual grouping headed by Ben-Gurion and Moshe Dayan, merged to form the MAI, the Israel Labour Party. In 1969 the MAI formed a bloc around a common political platform with the avowedly left-wing MAPAM, the United Workers' Party founded by left-wing zionist workers' organisations in 1948. This bloc commands a majority in the Israeli parliament and government where its representatives sit side by side with members of ultra-reactionary bourgeois and religious parties and together determine Israel's internal and foreign policy.

Israel's Social-Democrats who, since the founding of the state of Israel, have occupied the key positions in the country's political life, never tire of asserting that their aim, in the words of the MAPAI programme, is "to advance the movement of the Jewish working class towards a new socialist society." The "left-wing" social-democratic MAPAM party goes one better when it states in the programme adopted at its constituent congress that its supreme goal is "a new classless, socialist society" and that it is guided by "Marxist outlook and doctrine of class struggle." However, the very first and central plank of its programme makes a farce of the party's "socialist" phraseology since it says in part "the Party is unanimous in recognising zionism as the way to solve the Jewish question."

In "adapting" socialism to zionism Israeli Social-Democrats take considerable pains to smooth over the class contradictions within Israeli society which they seek to represent as the practical embodiment of socialism, as a supposedly "classless society" comprised of people who are equal by virtue of their national and racial identity. Ben-Gurion, Israel's first prime minister and former leader of the MAPAI party stressed among other things that the Israeli nation is "a society of workers by brain and brawn, free of exploitation, estates and discrimination." There is hardly any need to prove that Ben-Gurion's statement is typical of bourgeois chauvinism of whatever hue and shade. This statement is identical in meaning to what Berger, a leader of the Hitler Deutsche Arbeitsfront—DAF, once said: "There is no contradiction between labour and capital. We, all of us, are German workers of the German people, beginning with President and ending with the last toiler."

It should be noted in passing that the basic social and political principles of the right-wing zionist Social-Democrats are close ideologically to nazism since both are nurtured by bourgeois nationalism. Like the Nazis zionist "Socialists" seek to banish class consciousness from the minds of working people replacing it with the notions of "common blood" and "national ideology." With this in mind the Israeli parliament dominated by the social-democratic majority passed a law in March 1970 which stated that only those born of a Jewish mother and who professed Judaism could properly be considered to be Jews. This law, symbolising the racialist idea of the "exclusiveness" of Jews as "the chosen people," belongs in the same class as the notorious "Nuremberg laws" passed by the German Nazis which proclaimed the "racial purity" of the Germans.

Whatever their national or political guise, the ideological goals of chauvinism remain the same, namely, to get working people to renounce class ideological positions for nationalistic ones, to harbour the illusion of national unity with their own bourgeoisie and to suppress the internationalist aspirations of the working people. Nationalistic degeneration of proletarian ideology is not an end in itself for the social chauvinists. They merely use it as a means of politically subjugating the working people to their class enemies, of turning the working class into a tool in the hands of reactionary forces. "The workers' movement never sought to seize power within the ranks of zionism. Its goal has always been faithful service, not power. To achieve this objective the working class has always sought to unite all sections of society in the zionist movement," wrote Ben-Gurion.

With this in view the Israeli Social-Democrats have been implementing a social and economic policy in the interests of the zionist bourgeoisie and its monopoly capital allies, United States monopoly capital, above all. Since its foundation the state of Israel has been developing as a typical capitalist state with all the familiar concomitants including relentless exploitation of working people, chronic unemployment, poverty and lack of legal rights for the "lower" echelons of society. Facts show that far from helping to eliminate social ills the policy of zionist "Socialists" serves to aggravate them. Indeed, the 10,000 top families in Israel along with the foreign monopolies which dominate the country's economy pocket up to 50 per cent of the national income annually. Because of the depressed level of wages in Israel investments bring in 20-30 per cent in profits. This is real inducement for foreign companies, primarily US companies. What is more, to encourage capital investments the Israeli law grants them many concessions and privileges. The ruling MAPAI party's economic policy has always been to stimulate private capital. The party's programme aims at "encouraging private investments in agriculture and industry."

The Israeli economy has a so-called socialist sector which the zionist propagandists assiduously publicise, notably in developing countries. In agriculture this sector is represented by the kibbutzes—Israel's equivalent of agricultural cooperatives where the land is worked, implements utilised and housing shared in common.

The kibbutz, as H. Darin-Drabkin, a zionist ideologist, claims is "a socialist laboratory for developing countries." In effect, however, the kibbutz is a form of capitalist cooperation. Memb-

ers of the kibbutz neither individually nor as a body own the means of production. These belong to the national funds and banks, i.e. to the bourgeoisie who pocket the lion's share of the income of the kibbutzes. R. Teitelbaum, an Israeli author, writes: "The kibbutz movement has floundered not only because of its failure to facilitate the abolition of exploitation in Israeli society as a whole but also because of its failure to prevent the capitalist exploitation of its members."

In reality the kibbutzes serve as a convenient form for developing para-military-settlements for use primarily on occupied Arab territory. Army discipline and regulations prevail. The authorities force propertyless immigrants to settle in desert border areas where they are supposed to work in incredibly difficult conditions and at the same time serve as border guards. Their only reward is the provision of food. The kibbutzes are used by the Zionists as a tool in carrying out the militarist and chauvinistic doctrine of "an armed nation" whose purpose is to turn the people of Israel into "soldiers of zionism" who are supposed to blindly carry out any orders their rulers may issue.

Similarly the so-called "workers' sector" comprising enterprises belonging to the Histadrut (General Federation of Labour), the social-democrat controlled, main trade union organisation in Israel, has nothing in common with true socialism. These enterprises are patterned after private joint stock companies. The employees have no say either in management or in profit distribution. The share of the "workers' sector" in Israel's economy has been steadily decreasing. Indeed, whereas in 1950 some 56 per cent of the total labour force were employed in this sector, by the late 60s the proportion dropped to 20 per cent. The Histadrut serves the interests of Israel's reactionary ruling circles. Like the nazi Deutsche Arbeitsfront—DAF, which the Nazis substituted for the smashed trade unions in Germany, the Histadrut, according to its leaders, "is called upon to symbolise more fully the guiding mission of the state."

The chauvinistic policy of the Israeli Social-Democrats succeeds to some extent in glossing over the social contradictions within Israeli society but it does nothing to remove them. The policy documents of the Israeli Communist Party say in part: "The real state of affairs in Israel amounts to this: rapid development of capitalism coupled with deliberate government policy has accelerated social polarisation in the country. There is a handful of millionaires who rake in fat profits and wax richer daily while the working class and the rest of the working people are becoming increasingly impoverished. This results in a growing proportion of destitute people who live in the shadow of abject poverty. The process of the rich getting richer and the working people getting poorer has accelerated markedly in recent years."

The chauvinistic domestic policy of the zionist "Socialists" is directed at maintaining "class peace" in Israel, at strengthening the power of the bourgeoisie to dominate the country's working class. Israel's policy vis-à-vis other countries and peoples is symbolised in the territorial aggrandizement of the Israeli rulers, in their attempts to undermine the national liberation movement in the Middle East, in their gross interference in the internal affairs of countries with a Jewish population. They demand from Jews in other countries loyalty to Israel, arrogantly ignoring their interests and wishes, their citizenship and political convictions.

The zionist "Socialists" make every effort to convince all Jews throughout the world that they belong to "one nation," that, in the words of the MAPAI party's programme, "the state of Israel symbolises the messianic aspirations of the Jewish people." Accordingly, the Zionists urge Social-Democrats of Jewish descent in other countries to set up exclusive nationalistic groups and use them to influence the policy of their respective parties in a way favourable to Israel. Through such groups the Zionists bring pressure to bear on a number of Western social-democratic parties and the Socialist International.

The idea of a "single Jewish nation," needless to say, has nothing to do with reality and runs counter, in the words of Lenin, to the interests of the Jewish proletariat. *

* V. Lenin. *Coll. Works*, Vol. 7, p. 101.

The Israeli "Socialists" seek to alienate Jews from their fellow humans in other countries in an attempt to cut them off from progressive forces, to awaken in them the "call of common blood," to get them to forego their patriotic duty to the country where they were born and grew up for allegiance to Israel, which, the Zionists tell everyone, is the "true motherland of all Jews." The truth of the matter is, however, that Israel has failed to become a true motherland even for those who have lived there since bygone days. Numerous groups of Jewish immigrants in Israel live in what is commonly considered ghetto-type conditions. The many Jews who came to Israel from Africa and Asia are looked down upon in Israel as "racially inferior."

The Zionists encourage Jews living in other countries to immigrate to Israel not because they want them to enjoy a blissful life in the "land of their forefathers" but to use them as cannon fodder in wars of aggression against the Arabs and as cheap labour for colonising conquered lands.

Israeli ruling circles have turned the country into a gendarme of American imperialism in the Middle East. Speaking in a moment of candour James Paul Warburg, American banker and politician, said that since the United States was reluctant to run the risk of using its own military power in the Middle East, American policy was turning Israel into a supplier of cannon fodder for the purpose of stemming the tide of social revolution in the Middle East.

Far from excluding it the chauvinism of Israel's zionist rulers actually anticipates betrayal of the country's national interests although in their propaganda the Israeli "Socialists" take pains to pose as "internationalists" in the eyes of the world public. Their "internationalism," however, is of a peculiarly odd brand. The zionist "Socialists" substitute the "solidarity of world Jewry" for the international solidarity of working people. Their "internationalist" views stem from the racialist doctrine of the alleged "exclusiveness" of the Jews who, they claim, are called upon to make Israel "a lodestar for all nations." Incidentally, the same brand of "internationalism" characterised nazi ideology. One of the principles of that ideology was formulated by Spengler, that ill-famed prophet of nazism, who said: "A true international is only possible following the victory of the idea of one race over the rest."

The world knows full well how the Nazis implemented their racialist principles. The self-styled "socialist" Israeli rulers are moving in the same direction. Their expansionism by no means stops at their drive for "spiritual superiority" over other nations. It is primarily directed at achieving very tangible material gains: to enlarge Israel's territory at the expense of its Arab neighbours, to rob the indigenous population on occupied territory and to subvert progressive regimes in Arab countries. The 20 years of zionist "socialist" rule have earned Israel the reputation of being one of the most aggressive states in the capitalist world. During this time Israel, backed by world imperialism, has conquered Arab territory four times the original size allotted to it under the United Nations resolution of 1947. It has deprived over 1.5 million Arabs of shelter and means of subsistance. Thousands of innocent people have been killed, wounded and maimed. The property Israel has seized from Palestinian Arabs alone is estimated to be worth 4,000 million dollars. The zionist aggressors have no intention of stopping at that. Their cherished dream is to create a "Great Israel" which would include "biblical lands" from the Nile to the Euphrates. P. Zjinievsky, a zionist apologist and admirer of General Dayan, writes in his "Zionism from Abraham to Dayan": "Up to the year 2000 Israel should not hesitate before making whatever leap forward, however out of proportion or out of place it might appear in the eyes of those who look upon Israel as a 'small country.'"

Inflating their petty nationalism to the proportions of great power chauvinism Israel's social-democratic rulers not only increase international tension but they also irresponsibly gamble with the future of their own country. Israel has developed into a typical militarist state which spends about 50 per cent of its national income for military purposes. The government has introduced a compulsory war tax amounting to 7-9 per cent of wages. The income tax

has been raised by 5 per cent, 85 per cent of the tax revenue is gobbled up by the military budget. Prices of essential goods are soaring. Even according to official figures over 13 per cent of Israeli families are living in poverty. Apart from worsening the living standards of Izraeli working people, hard-pressed as they already are, the country's militarisation cuts further into their civil rights and provides the conditions for introducing a dictatorship. In his report to the 16th Congress of Israel's Communist Party in 1969, Comrade Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee, said: "Conquests and annexations bring disaster to Israel. They corrupt the morals in the country and threaten to turn Israel into a state which lives by the sword alone and, because of this, jeopardises its very existence."

The heady chauvinistic psychosis that gripped Israeli society after the six-day war of 1967 is nowadays giving way to a mood of dejection among many Israelis who are increasingly beginning to assess developments soberly. The broad popular support the government once had is being replaced by growing discontent among the masses. Evidence of this are the stormy demonstrations that swept Israel in 1970-71. The demonstrators took to the streets carrying slogans "The war government must go!" In 1970 alone there were about 150 strikes during which the strikers protested against the spiralling cost of living stemming from the crippling defence expenditures. At the latest elections to the Israeli parliament the social-democratic bloc comprising the MAI and MAPAM parties lost 7 seats while the Communist Party increased its vote considerably. Even some zionist leaders are beginning to see that the government's chauvinistic and expansionist policy constitutes a danger to Israel. One of them, Prof. A. Ariely, said: "If Israel sinks into the atmosphere of religious fanaticism and hysterical nationalism it will inevitably degenerate into a barrack state with a fascist ideology."

These and many other facts show that increasing numbers of Jews representing a cross-section of political opinion are beginning to oppose the country's ruling circles. Thus far, however, by nationalistic propaganda and social rhetoric the ruling social-democratic parties have succeeded in retaining their position in the country. In view of this, as the Israeli Communists in the resolutions of their latest congress rightly pointed out, the progressive forces of Israel must step up their struggle to deprive zionist reaction of popular support and expose the real essence of the ideology and policy of the social-democratic leadership in the eyes of the Israeli working people in order to show them that social chauvinism is incompatible with the national interests and socialist aspirations of the country's working masses.

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